

BUSINESS AND CARGO

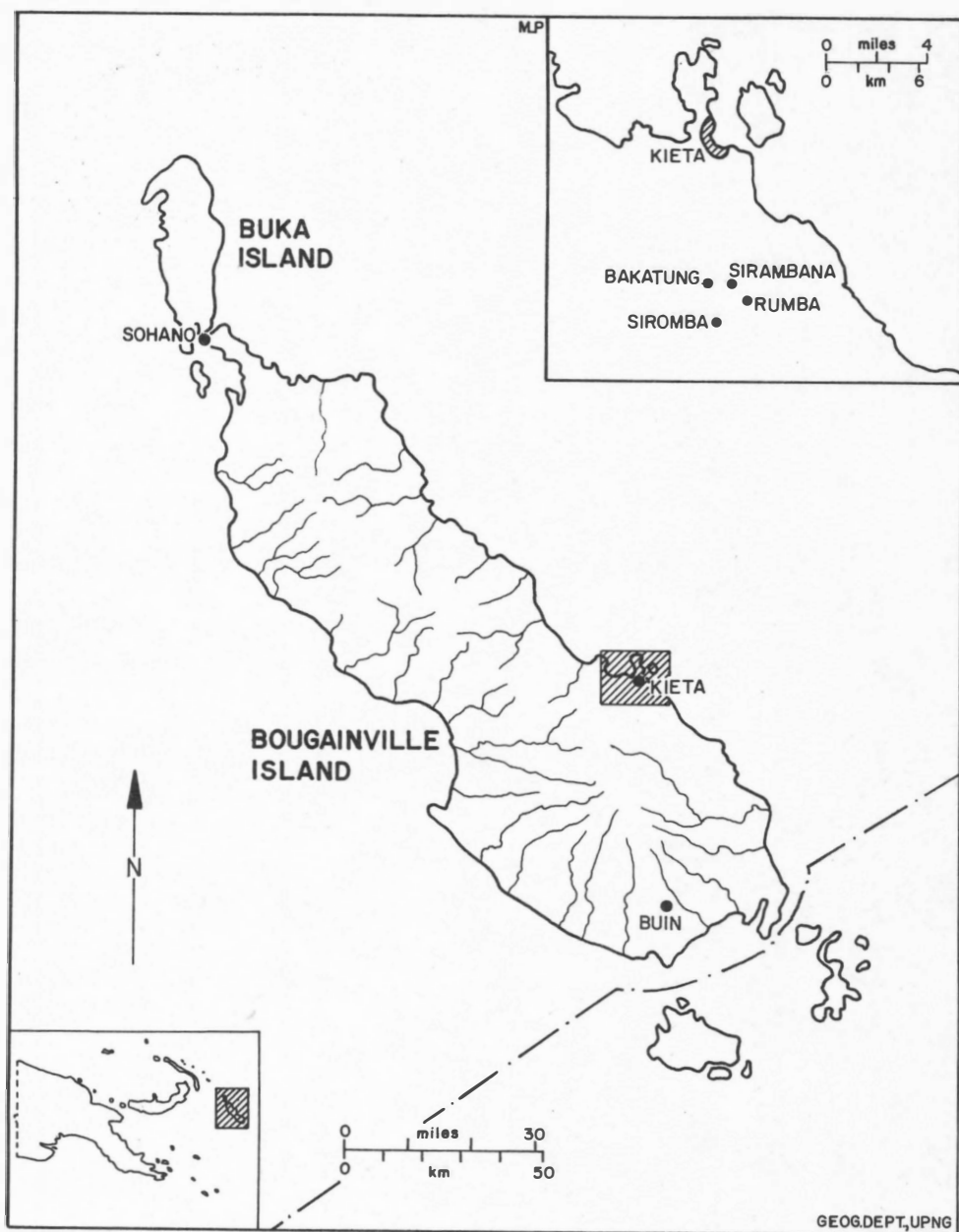


Figure 1. Bougainville Island

New Guinea Research Bulletin no. 44



BUSINESS AND CARGO

Socio-economic change among the Nasioi
of Bougainville

E. OGAN

The New Guinea Research Unit
The Australian National University
Port Moresby and Canberra

© The Australian National University 1972

This work is copyright. Apart from any fair dealing for the purpose of private study, research, criticism, or review, as permitted under the Copyright Act, no part may be reproduced by any process without written permission. Inquiries should be made to the publisher.

Printed and manufactured in Australia by
Allans Printers, Canberra

National Library of Australia
card no. and ISBN 0 85818 008 1

Library of Congress Catalog
card no. 73-187722

Editor, New Guinea Research Bulletin

Marion W. Ward

Manuscript editor

Susan Tarua

The New Guinea Research Unit is part of the Research School of Pacific Studies, Australian National University, and is based in Port Moresby.

The work of the Unit is guided by an advisory committee responsible to the Director of the School, Professor O. H. K. Spate, who is the chairman.

The other members of the committee are:

W. C. Clarke, Department of Human Geography

J. W. Davidson, Department of Pacific History

A. L. Epstein, Department of Anthropology and Sociology

E. K. Fisk, Department of Economics

J. Golson, Department of Prehistory

Marie Reay, Department of Anthropology and Sociology

R. T. Shand, Department of Economics

Marion W. Ward, New Guinea Research Unit

A representative of the academic staff of the Unit

Contents

	<u>Page</u>
Acknowledgments	ix
Chapter 1 Introduction	1
Chapter 2 Traditional socio-economic life	12
Chapter 3 Christian missions and social change	45
Chapter 4 Commercial interests	58
Chapter 5 The role of European administration	73
Chapter 6 The modern social setting	91
Chapter 7 Modern economic activities	115
Chapter 8 "Bisnis" and "kago"	161
Chapter 9 Conclusion	177
Appendices	
1 Demography	185
2 Sample diet history	188
3 Consumption of European goods	189
Bibliography	191
Index	196
Plates	
1 Section of Aropa Valley Road, 1964	7
2 Digging sweet potato, the staple food crop	117

		<u>Page</u>
3	Clearing a new garden plot	117
4	Staking out cocoa plants in a new garden	127
5	A villager-built cocoa drier	127
6	Making <u>ta'ma</u>	135
Tables		
6.1	A listing of <u>mu</u> recorded in four Nasioi villages	96
6.2	Nasioi kinship terminology	99
7.1	Estimated indigenous-owned coconut palms, by sample village, 1962	120
7.2	Registered coconut palms, by sample village, 1962	121
7.3	Typical man-days in copra-making session	124
7.4	Estimated indigenous-owned cocoa trees, by sample village, 1962	125
7.5	Registered cocoa trees, by sample village, 1962	126
7.6	Sale of wet beans to Mangalim plantation, June-July 1964	128
7.7	No. of transactions when villagers chose	149
8.1	Rumba store purchases from Wo Fat, April-July 1963 and 1964	167
Figures		
1	Bougainville Island	Frontispiece
2	South Bougainville linguistic divisions	4
3	South Bougainville census divisions	5
Genealogy		
1	Simplified genealogy of Maura, a pre-war <u>oboring</u>	21

Acknowledgements

This book began with research in 1962, appeared originally as a Ph.D. dissertation submitted to Harvard University, and underwent considerable change between its inception and the year 1970 - change which was necessitated by continuing fieldwork among Nasioi speakers. At every step of this long process I was aided by many individuals and organisations, of whom I can mention only a few.

The 1962-64 fieldwork on which the bulk of the Bulletin is based was supported by a Pre-doctoral Fellowship from the National Science Foundation, and a Sinclair Kennedy Fellowship from Harvard University. Subsequent fieldwork has been variously supported by a grant from the National Institutes of Health, under which I was employed as a research assistant; grants from the Office of International Programs, University of Minnesota, and the Penrose Fund, American Philosophical Society; and a Research Fellowship from the Australian National University.

Douglas L. Oliver was the first, and for some years the only, one of his peers to encourage my graduate efforts in anthropology. He has consistently provided moral and facilitated financial support, without ever attempting to force his own views upon my work. My great regret about my Nasioi research is the extent to which it falls short of his own uncompromising intellectual standards.

I owe a particular intellectual debt to A. Thomas Kirsch. Our continuing dialogue (often in the form of a quarrel) introduced me to much of what I know about sociology in general, and structural-functionalism in particular. My debt to James L. Peacock is similar, if smaller in scope.

Many European residents of Bougainville provided generous assistance in various ways; their aid is the more appreciated because it was given despite the serious disagreements we often had about the Bougainville situation. In particular, I am grateful to former ADO, M.J. Denehy; Father F. Miltrup, S.M., and staff of Tubiana Mission; and Mr and Mrs R.J.M. Martin, and Mr and Mrs G.D. Straughen of Kieta. Although I may have

seemed critical of the segments of the community which they represent, I have nothing but the greatest respect for them as individuals.

I was greatly assisted in special ways during the months of writing and revising by the following individuals and institutions: Dr and Mrs R.E.W. Adams; Dr and Mrs R.C. Kiste; Professor and Mrs N.W.G. Macintosh; Professor and Mrs W.L. Rowe, and the Departments of Anthropology of the University of Hawaii, the University of Minnesota, and the Australian National University.

The Margaret Frost Foundation, no longer in existence, helped me from the earliest stages of my academic work in anthropology, and I have come to regard the then officers of the Foundation, Eugenia Morris Frost and Marjorie E.M. Grant, as two of my closest and most loyal friends.

It is almost impossible for me to express the gratitude I feel towards the Nasioi villagers among whom I have lived for so many months. They have provided me with experiences which are all too inadequately reflected in an academic career. I can only hope that my published work, by helping the English reader to understand them and their problems, may somehow bring closer the goals they seek.

All those mentioned above, and others as well, contributed to the positive accomplishments represented by this Bulletin. I alone am responsible for whatever deficiencies remain.

Chapter 1

Introduction

The primary purpose of this Bulletin is to describe life among the Nasioi of the Aropa Valley on the island of Bougainville as I have observed it over the course of twenty-eight months. In this context the study represents a small contribution to the ethnology of Melanesia. But because the Nasioi were concerned to emulate the economic activities of European society - or, more accurately, to possess greater quantities of European material goods - the Bulletin is also relevant to the study of economic anthropology.

Many works relating to economic anthropology have appeared since I first went to Bougainville in 1962. Some of these are primarily theoretical in nature (Belshaw 1965, Firth 1967, LeClair and Schneider 1968, Nash 1966); others are directly related to the Melanesian area (T.S. Epstein 1968, Rappaport 1967, Salisbury 1962 and 1970). Had I been familiar with these volumes when I undertook my research, my work would doubtless have taken a different direction, and the present Bulletin a very different form. As it is, I am concerned to present my material essentially in terms of my actual 'logic-in-use' (Kaplan 1964:8-12), albeit without cutting myself off completely from the valuable insights these other anthropologists have provided. My description of Nasioi will emphasise the ethnographic level, what Salisbury (1968:484) calls 'ethno-economics'. In other words, in what follows I consider in the first instance 'the economic concepts given...by informants as close approximations to the operating variables' (Salisbury 1968:484) and organise my analysis of transactions around those concepts.

Another aspect of the conceptual framework in which I attempt to organise the data presented here is the general notion that social change is best viewed as a process of increasing differentiation, whereby aspects of behaviour - roles, groups, norms or whatever - which previously could be distinguished only analytically and with difficulty, become more

distinct in their structure and the functions they perform.¹ This general framework is congruent with such early works as The Wealth of Nations and The Division of Labour in Society, and is basic to Belshaw's (1965) outstanding general treatment of economic anthropology. Although I doubt that he would have agreed, I think it is implicit in Polanyi's notion of 'embeddedness' (Polanyi 1959:168); that is, as change takes place the economy becomes less 'embedded' in, for example, the kinship network.

Parsons and Smelser (1956) provide the most elaborate exposition of this view of economy and society, although the non-specialist can probably appreciate it better in Smelser's (1959) application to empirical data. I intend to use the framework not as a Procrustean bed but as a loose net into which data may be conveniently gathered. As Parsons and Smelser point out (1956:84), the specifics of their system are less easily applied to societies with a lower level of structural differentiation and less economic emphasis. Further, there is an added difficulty in applying the model in a quasi-colonial situation. Nevertheless, by employing this frame of reference I hope to bring some coherence to the Nasioi material and thereby achieve the pragmatic goal of rendering the data useful to other researchers.

The field situation

Without subscribing wholeheartedly to the philosophical stance of operationism,² I believe that the nature of anthropological fieldwork demands that more description be provided of field operations than is found in many reports, if the published material is to be properly evaluated. This is especially the case in a difficult political situation, in which indigenes have obvious motives for giving different responses to different kinds of questioners. Consequently in this section I have taken pains to spell out aspects of the field situation, and particularly my role therein, which are ordinarily given brief mention, if any, in other ethnographies.

The Nasioi and the setting. Nasioi is a non-Austronesian language spoken by over 10,000 people in Bougainville, which island, with that of Buka and scattered outliers, forms the easternmost District of the Trust Territory of New Guinea.

¹ Cf. Parsons (1966).

² Cf. Kaplan (1964:39-42).

The language is most closely related to Nagovisi, with which it forms a family, and this family, in turn, forms a southern Bougainville, non-Austronesian stock with Buin (Telei, Rugara) and Siuai (or Siwai, Motuna) (Allen and Hurd n.d.). Nasioi speakers form the largest language group in the Kieta sub-district (see Figure 2).

The Nasioi who are the focus of this Bulletin speak Nasioi proper, as opposed to other dialects, and live in the Aropa Valley in the South Nasioi census division (see Figure 3). This division is approximately ninety square miles in area; the hilly terrain is of volcanic origin. All villages are below 2,000 ft but some ridges reach that height, spurs going towards the Crown Prince Range beyond the census division. The village of Daratui is at about 1,700 ft, but the four villages from which most data were drawn are approximately 700 to 900 ft above sea level.

The South Nasioi census division constitutes part of Bougainville's better-drained lowlands, where about 90 per cent of the island's population resides. This environment provides optimal conditions for a tropical rain forest, including such genera as *Vitex*, *Ficus*, *Garania* and *Octomeles*. Major food trees include the coconut, canarium almond, areca nut, sago and breadfruit. Secondary vegetation types, caused by regrowth of garden lands, are varied¹ and may reach considerable height and density.

The climate of the Aropa Valley is mild and humid. Extensive records have been kept only for the coastal town of Kieta, but these are suggestive. Annual temperatures at Kieta show a mean of 80.9 degrees, with a mean maximum of 86.8 and mean minimum of 75 degrees. Rainfall figures kept for over twenty-six years at Kieta show a mean of 123.2 inches per year, with an annual high of 149.2 and an annual low of 103.9 inches. Mean number of rain-days per year at Kieta is 166. Rainfall is probably somewhat higher in the Valley. There is some doubt whether Valley rainfall is evenly distributed over the year; certainly there is extreme variation from one day to the next.²

¹ Cf. Scott *et al* (1967:138-41), which also provides a detailed description of Bougainville's geology, climate and soils.

² My efforts to collect rainfall data in Rumba with a simple plastic rain gauge were handicapped by irregular absences from

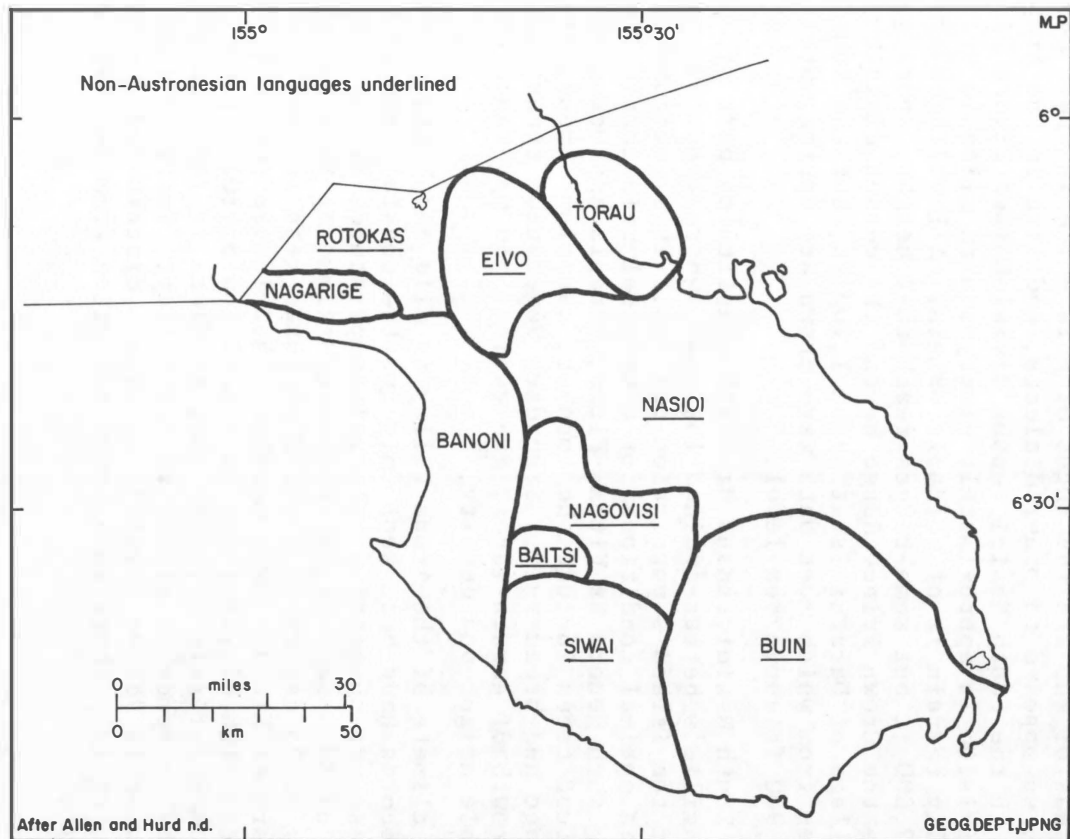


Figure 2. South Bougainville linguistic divisions

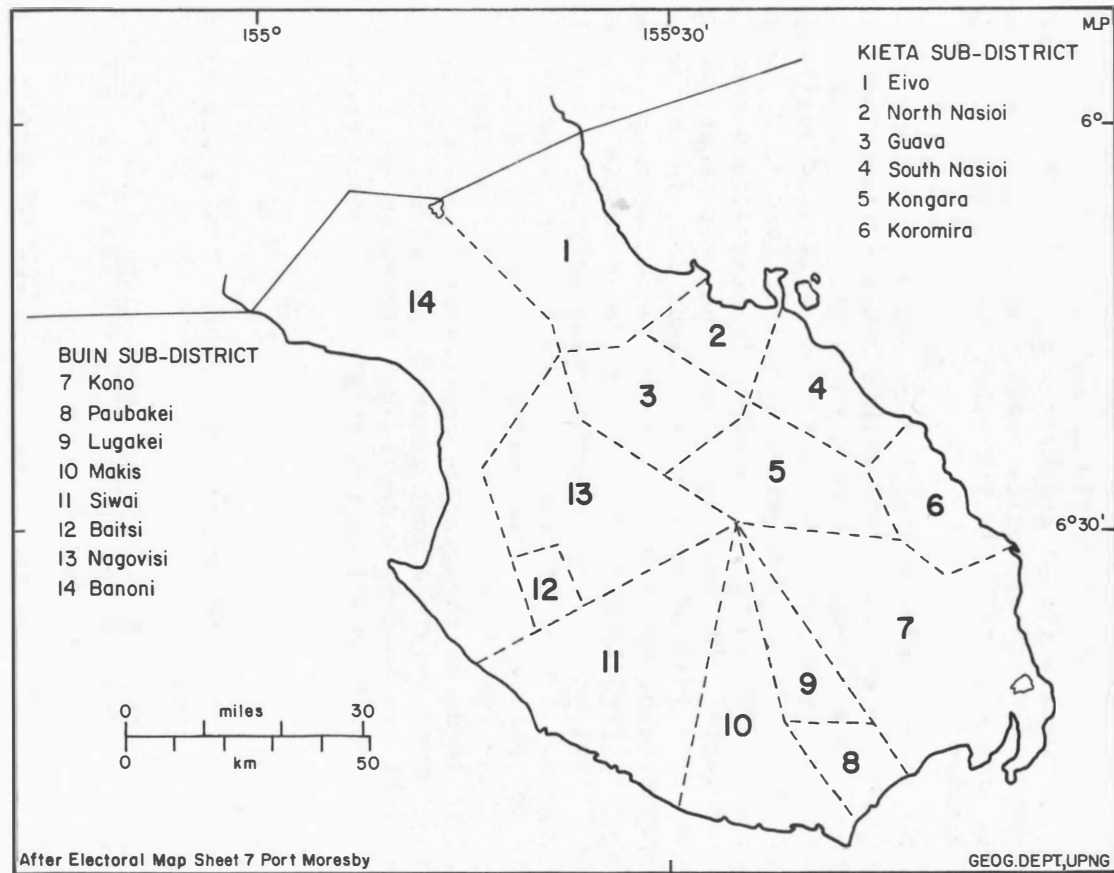


Figure 3. South Bougainville census divisions

Bird life is varied, but wild animals are limited to the rat, the opossum, and several kinds of lizards and non-poisonous snakes. Fish, crayfish and eels are found in the Aropa River and other streams in this well-watered area.

Background and schedule of fieldwork. In 1962 most of the available ethnographic information on the Nasioi was in works by Frizzi (1914) and Rausch (1912a and b). Oliver (1955), Oliver and Howells (1957) and Kariks et al (1957) included Nasioi physical anthropological data,¹ and references of varying relevance appeared in a few other sources (e.g., Parkinson 1907, Blackwood 1931).

At the time I selected the Nasioi for my research, I planned to do a general ethnographic study - since this was lacking - but with emphasis on a comparison with the ethnically related Siwai, on whom abundant material was available (Oliver 1949, 1955). However, before I arrived in Papua New Guinea, consultation with knowledgeable Australians convinced me of two facts. In the first place, the years that had passed since Oliver's 1938-39 study of the Siwai and, in particular, the experience of World War II, had affected so many variables that a controlled comparison² was no longer possible.³ Secondly, the Nasioi were experiencing increasingly rapid social change, particularly with the planting of cash crops and other efforts to operate in a Western-style economy. Therefore by the time I arrived in Kieta in November 1962 I had already decided to focus on changing economic life. However, this decision formed only the most general type of intellectual framework: I was guided in day-to-day fieldwork not by Parsons and Smelser but by previous training in what constituted

2 (continued)

the village. The best comparative figures I have are the following (in inches):

	<u>Feb.</u>	<u>Mar.</u>	<u>Apr.</u>	<u>May</u>	<u>June</u>	<u>July</u>	<u>Aug.</u>	<u>Sept.</u>	<u>Oct.</u>
1963	5.23	13.93	9.15	8.44	6.52	5.86	10.12	8.97	20.13
1964	-	11.62	11.36	14.39	6.76	11.76	-	-	-

¹ I have not described the appearance of the Aropa Valley people because detailed treatment of their physical anthropology can be found elsewhere.

² Cf. Eggan (1950, 1954).

³ Of course, comparisons of general cultural features could be, and were, made. See especially Chapter 2.

ethnography, with the Outline of Cultural Materials (Murdock et al 1961) as a supplementary checklist.

Earlier correspondence with the Assistant District Officer¹ directed me to the South Nasioi census division. The North Nasioi division was described as 'very progressive' (i.e., Europeanised), while work in the more traditional Guava and Kongara divisions involved problems of transport and communication which would have strained my limited financial resources. The villages of Nasioi and Rumba, near a vehicular road which went through the Valley, were recommended as field sites. The ADO being on leave when I arrived, and his relief unfamiliar with the area, I made my final choice primarily on the practical issue of transport; I settled into the government rest house across the road from the various hamlets of Rumba on 27 November 1962 (see Figure 1).



Plate 1. Section of Aropa Valley Road, 1964 (new hamlet of Rumba in lower right-hand corner)

¹ This title was subsequently changed to Assistant District Commissioner.

The following month I moved into my own house in the hamlet identified as Rumba 'A' in Chapter 6, and remained there for seventeen months (December 1962 to August 1964 with a break in Australia from December 1963 to February 1964). During that period I went into Kieta for supplies and recreation for an average of two days every five weeks. I did not encourage European visitors, and seldom received any. I collected genealogical material and folk tales from the villages of Siromba, Sirambana and Bakatung, and frequently visited these villages, the first-named almost daily. I attended "singsing" in other villages in the Valley and on the coast, and received visitors - a few of whom became important informants about specific points of traditional life - from as far away as Nagovisi. However, my primary reference group always remained the sixty or so men, women and children of Rumba 'A' with whom I was in constant and close contact.

In June 1966 I returned to the government rest house near Rumba and remained there until August. For most of that period I worked as research assistant to the medical-anthropological project led by Dr Albert Damon of Harvard University. In September I moved to the Kongara census division with two Rumba domestic servants, and worked there until February 1967 when I left the island. I intend to present my Kongara material at another time and place; however, I have occasionally utilised certain data in this study to illuminate otherwise obscure points in the Aropa Valley situation.¹ I made yet another trip, much of which was spent in the Kieta sub-district, to study the 1968 House of Assembly election (Ogan 1970b, 1971). Unless otherwise stated, the period under study in this Bulletin ends in 1966; in particular, the descriptions of commercial interests in Chapter 4 cease to apply after that date. The 'Nasioi' in this Bulletin are the Catholic Nasioi of the Aropa Valley unless otherwise noted, and particularly the people of Rumba, Siromba, Sirambana and Bakatung, in that order of relevance.

The ethnographer in the field. I entered the field with no fluency in either Pidgin or Nasioi, but armed with grammars of both (Mihalic 1957, Rausch 1912a, respectively). I never became completely fluent in Nasioi although within six months I could carry on an extended conversation, provided the subject matter was sufficiently circumscribed (e.g., a census protocol). But I found a great gulf between this kind of

¹ See especially Chapter 2.

mastery and that which would permit me to come upon a heated debate among several Nasioi, pick up the thread of the argument, and follow the whole conversation without an interpreter. It was this gulf which I never bridged.

On the other hand, I did become fluent in Pidgin. Most men under fifty and women under thirty could understand some Pidgin. The degree to which Nasioi would speak Pidgin to me was dependent on variables other than fluency. Women simply refused, although the younger ones could clearly follow any anecdote I told a male audience. (No Nasioi with whom I was in regular contact could speak 'standard' English.) Whenever I did formal interviews - and except for genealogies and investigation of material presented in Chapter 2, I eschewed formal interviews in favour of informal participant observation - or sat in on what seemed to be a discussion of major import, I always had the services of a Pidgin-speaking interpreter. Often my conversation shifted from Pidgin to Nasioi and back, without my being fully aware of it. My knowledge of Nasioi was certainly greater than that of any other European in the area at the time,¹ and the rewards in terms of rapport with the villagers were grossly out of proportion to my actual fluency.

The problem of rapport, or more generally interpersonal relations, with the Nasioi was a particularly acute one, and I can only attempt to assess the situation with such objectivity as my personal involvement permits. I was very quickly surprised by the friendly attention I received from the people of Rumba, and initially attributed it to my position as a buyer of food and services, and provider of entertainment by means of a tape-recorder. However, this did not explain why, during my first week in the rest house, the village elders told a visiting patrol officer (I was still struggling with Pidgin) that they wished to build me a house, free of charge. Beginning with my move into that house, the Nasioi attitude became increasingly clear, although I was to be surprised by new manifestations until my last day in Bougainville.

In April 1962 a United Nations Mission visited Kieta as part of a tour of the Trust Territory of New Guinea. At the general discussion several Nasioi asked that Australia be forced to relinquish the administration of Bougainville to

¹ Conrad and Phyllis Hurd of the Summer Institute of Linguistics began work at Daratui village in January 1964.

the United States.¹ The Australians were accused of treating the indigenous people like dogs and failing to improve their lot. These charges were apparently made only by Catholic Nasioi, including both those who were regarded by the Administration as irresponsible trouble-makers and those who had previously shown signs (through economic effort or loyalty to the Allies in World War II) of being 'on side'. Other Nasioi, both Catholic and Protestant, disputed the charges and professed satisfaction with, and loyalty to, the Australians.

The repercussions of this incident extend beyond the scope of the present work. The point here is that my arrival was connected by the Nasioi with their desire for a change in Administration. I had made no secret of the fact that I was an American and, although both Catholic mission personnel and the patrol officer who brought me to Rumba had made speeches explaining my work as the study of indigenous language and custom, I was widely regarded as an agent of the American government and/or the United Nations. I was not present at the UN Mission incident but I soon learned of it, and of the widespread disaffection with present conditions. I therefore became increasingly concerned lest my presence further disrupt an already confused situation. Whenever the issue arose I tried to convince the Nasioi that I was, in fact, a student of indigenous custom, but I have no confidence that I succeeded.

Only two specific examples need be cited here of the ways in which the political situation and my unwilling entanglement in it affected my fieldwork. However, the reader should keep this background in mind in assessing the data in Chapter 3 to 8 especially. First, since I was regarded as an agent who would report back to the United Nations (or the American government), some Nasioi must have believed they had to prove themselves both deserving and needy of help. Consequently my search for quantitative data on wealth was not only hampered by the traditional Nasioi disinclination to deal with quantities larger than five (Rausch 1912a:109) and their general desire to keep such information secret lest it arouse envy and/or sorcery. There was also the possibility that Nasioi concealed or minimised possessions and money in order to impress me with the urgent need for a change in Administration.

Secondly, during 1962-64 there were certainly widespread beliefs in the Valley of imminent supernatural changes in

¹ Cf. Pacific Islands Monthly, May 1962, p.138.

indigenous life. Such beliefs are usually called 'cargo cults' in New Guinea, although the term tends to gloss over very marked differences in particular cases.¹ The term 'cargoism' in reference to a general philosophy rather than a specific social movement (Harding 1967) is better applied to the Valley situation. I was so worried that I might become the centre of a full-fledged cult (rumours about me in such contexts reached the ADO from the North Nasioi area) that I expressed disbelief in whatever 'cargoist' stories were brought to me. This outspoken negative attitude, very much in contrast to the manner in which I treated such kinds of supernatural beliefs as sorcery, undoubtedly cut me off from some extremely interesting data.

The Nasioi's mistaken view of my role had inevitable effects on my own attitudes. I was upset about being expected to provide that which I could not, much as was Read (1965) in highland New Guinea. But in retrospect I find even greater parallels between my field experience and that of Whyte (1955) in a very different environment. Two quotations can spare the reader a detailed treatment of my feelings:

I learned that people did not expect me to be just like them; in fact, they were interested and pleased to find me different, just so long as I took a friendly interest in them. (Whyte 1955:304)

I also had to learn that the field worker cannot afford to think only of learning to live with others in the field. He has to continue living with himself. If the participant observer finds himself engaging in behaviour he has learned to think of as immoral, then he is likely to begin to wonder what sort of person he is after all. Unless the field worker can carry with him a reasonably consistent picture of himself, he is likely to run into difficulties. (Whyte 1955:317)

Thus I found myself as a human being relating to the people of Rumba and the Valley as I do to other humans elsewhere - liking some individuals, disliking others. My weeping at a favourite child's funeral does not, of itself, make my ethnography more or less reliable. It is significant only as evidence that I remained honest with myself in Bougainville and, therefore, may hope to have produced an honest account of my observations there.

¹ Cf. Worsley (1968).

Chapter 2

Traditional socio-economic life

...the empirical observation of change presents serious problems to the investigator who has only a few months in which to do his fieldwork. He cannot interview people ten years ago.... He will find in most instances that the available historical materials were designed to answer very different questions from the ones he is asking, and that no data comparable to those he now collects exist for earlier periods. Faced with this dilemma, he must do the best he can.... (Max F. Millikan in Pye 1963:viii)

This quotation does not overestimate the difficulties of describing a condition (sometimes called a 'baseline') from which change takes place. Clearly my definition of 'indigenous' or 'traditional' behaviour must be arbitrary. Today there are, for example, no Nasioi alive, or at any rate capable of being interviewed, who were full-fledged adult members of society before Europeans arrived in numbers on Bougainville. Yet the effort is necessary, not least because present conditions are obviously causing modern Nasioi to distort descriptions of past customs in order to achieve new political and social goals. Much of my own material was gathered at a time, and from the kind of responsible, elderly informants, which makes me confident that such distortions were minimal.

In this chapter I call 'traditional' those behaviours which were still current between the world wars, often clearly remembered by men living today but evincing continuity with the more distant past. This material is comparable to that observed at first hand by Oliver among the Siwai.¹ I think

¹ For example, my Nasioi informants couldn't remember using stone adzes but knew how the tools had been hafted. Cf. Oliver (1955:11).

it likely that this 'traditional' culture differs from 'aboriginal' times, before the arrival of Europeans - an opinion apparently shared by the Nagovisi informants of D. and J. Mitchell.¹

Social setting

Settlement. By the time of Frizzi's visit in 1911, the Nasioi were established as foothill and mountain dwellers. Their withdrawal from much of the coastal area may well have been in response to defeats by aggressive Austronesian speakers from the Shortland Islands and areas south and east. In any event, the Aropa Valley people at least retained contact with coastal villages, while those in the Kongara were effectively isolated in the mountains (Frizzi 1914:3).

Within these foothills, settlement seems traditionally to have followed a pattern of scattered clusters of not more than a few households. This pattern was not much changed after Australian administration was established.² Older Rumba informants described single household settlements as modal. Frizzi (1914:21, 23) emphasises the fluid nature of village organisation. One reason for the establishment of a new village was the desire of an ambitious man to establish himself with a following. According to informants, settlements were also moved during the practice of shifting cultivation: houses were built on abandoned garden sites and a nearby area of bush cleared for new gardens. My informants never described villages splitting up because of overpopulation (*contra* Frizzi 1914:3) but emphasised the practice of abandoning a village site which was marked as sorcery-ridden by high morbidity and mortality.³

This scattered settlement implied that nothing comparable to the warfare reported from the New Guinea highlands was found among the Nasioi. Even the folk tales I collected emphasised what, in Western terms, could be called sorcery and murder rather than war.

Kinship and marriage. All early published sources mention named exogamous groups among the Nasioi, membership of which was matrilineally inherited (Blackwood 1931:430, Chinnery n.d.:71, Frizzi 1914:17-18, Parkinson 1907:481). While some

¹ Personal communication, 1970. ² Cf. Blackwood (1931:426-7).

³ The village of Mintarai was abandoned for this reason shortly before World War II, and the population divided itself between the modern settlements of Rumba and Sirambana.

of these authors list the Nasioi term mu,¹ they do not agree on the exact nature of these groupings. I have described the present-day mu at some length in Chapter 6. Informants indicated that these units have not changed in their life-times, except that food tabus were much more strictly observed in "taim bipo".² Therefore mu can be glossed as 'totemic matriline' with the understanding that the gloss may obscure some ethnographic detail.

Except for considerations of matriline membership, pre-war Nasioi seem to have had no greater interest in genealogy than their modern descendants (Blackwood 1931:430). Rausch's (1912a) list of Nasioi kinship terms is essentially the same as the terminology I collected during 1962-64 and reproduce in Chapter 6. The implications of this terminology for marriage patterns have been discussed elsewhere.³ For present purposes, two points should be briefly stated:

(a) Bilateral cross-cousin marriage certainly took place among the Nasioi (Frizzi 1914:17-18, Chinnery n.d.:72), although its incidence and possible relationships to a moiety structure (Chinnery n.d.:71) are problematical.

(b) Not only is bilateral cross-cousin marriage theoretically consistent with balanced exchange of property,⁴ but the less Europeanised, 'more traditional' Nasioi of the Kongara area made the connection between the two institutions explicit. In answer to my tentative question, 'Could a man marry his "bilateral cross-cousin"?' several informants replied, in essence, 'Of course. We always used to marry that way, till the priests told us to stop because it was like marrying our sisters. We married that way so land and valuables would

¹ Nasioi words are underlined in the text; English words or expressions which may be substituted for the Nasioi (glosses!) are set off in single quotes, as for oboring ('big man'). I have deliberately departed from the orthography and spelling suggested by Hurd (1966) in order not to interrupt the narrative flow for the English reader.

² Pidgin words and expressions are set off in quotation marks. Orthography for Pidgin is Mihalic's (1957) but spelling has been modified to reflect Nasioi pronunciation.

³ See Ogan (1966b), an analysis with which I am no longer wholly satisfied.

⁴ Cf. Lévi-Strauss (1969:134-9).

stay close together. Now that the priests made us stop, we have more land disputes'.

Although Aropa Valley informants did not make such explicit statements about cross-cousin marriage, they were in agreement that marriage involved the exchange of property. Frizzi (1914:19) and Parkinson (1907:481) to the contrary notwithstanding, 'bride purchase' does not seem an appropriate description of the Nasioi practice. In the first place, neither the Nasioi word mo ('buy, grasp') nor the Pidgin "baiim" were used in this context; rather informants talked about 'giving food' (tamang abiung). This prestation of food might begin during the infant betrothal of the prospective couple. Usually the initiative came from the boy's family, although some informants said a girl's family might present food to a little boy's mother. In either case, such betrothal prestations could begin when the child's mother was still confined to her house after giving birth.¹

The feast at marriage - cohabitation might be a more accurate term - was called kaatana (Frizzi 1914:19, 'tatana') and was provided by the groom's kin for the parents of the bride. For all gifts of food or such items as "laplap", informants stressed the ideal of balanced reciprocity.² In other words, while the initial prestations were to come from the groom's side, ideally the bride's kin were to reciprocate. To the extent that the various prestations were regarded as unequal, several consequences were possible. At the very least, in any friction between the married couple or between one spouse and his/her affines, alleged inequalities and failures to reciprocate would be mentioned.³ More important, a prestation from the groom⁴ to the bride's kin which is so large that the

¹ Frizzi (1914:19) notes that such betrothal often failed to result in marriage; cf. pp.108-11.

² For a general discussion of this notion see Belshaw (1965: 11-52). Compare also Read's (1959) remarks on 'equivalence'.

³ One Rumba man aged about sixty could still speak with deep bitterness of his affines who accepted a huge prestation, featuring trade goods he had earned as a labourer for the Germans, but then made only nominal return.

⁴ Whenever I discuss prestations as if made by an individual, it should be understood that the individual may, indeed is almost certain to, be helped by others.

latter cannot or will not 'balance the books' gives the groom the right to ignore ideal uxori-locality¹ and to take the bride from her kin to the residence he prefers. Finally, inequality of exchange at marriage, as in other spheres of life, enhances prestige for the individual who has made the larger gift or feast.²

Economic and prestige considerations were also operative in the practice of polygyny (kemai'nung). Only an ambitious man would or could undertake the exchanges involved in acquiring more than one wife: obviously the prestations involved in polygynous marriages would have to be large enough to override ideal uxori-locality.³

Neither the incidence of polygynous marriages nor the typical number of wives per 'big man' is certain for traditional Nasioi society.⁴ Rumba informants provided two well-authenticated cases of polygyny; that of Maura is discussed below.⁵ Two other men were described as having five wives each, but informants disagreed as to whether the men were married to all the women simultaneously. The best-attested maximum figure is three wives, in which case the husband was said to use 'love magic' (ko'no) to keep them all serene.

Men who were wealthy, prestigious and/or ruthless could also ignore other ideal patterns in marriage. Maura's brother married the former's daughter, a girl he would have called 'daughter' following approved kinship terminology. Whether Boke had five wives simultaneously or serially, one of them was certainly of his own mu. I recorded no case of sororal polygyny.⁶

Leadership.⁷ Although both Frizzi (1914:20-1) and Blackwood (1931:430) maintain that hereditary chieftainship existed

¹ Cf. Blackwood (1931:430). ² See pp.19-20.

³ At the same time, wives also served to increase the ambitious man's resources, see pp.20, 26-7.

⁴ For example, compare Parkinson (1907:481), Frizzi (1914:19), and Blackwood (1931:430).

⁵ See pp.19-20. Living Nasioi mentioned in the text have been provided with pseudonyms from the list of Catholic saints; indigenous names refer to deceased individuals.

⁶ Cf. Frizzi (1914:17). ⁷ See also p.22ff.

among the Nasioi, informants' accounts make clear that the individual designated by the term oboring is best described as a 'big man'. The theme is common in Melanesia (Sahlins 1963) and the Nasioi, like other groups, have their own variations thereon.

Informants were unanimous in citing pig feasts as the hallmark of the oboring.¹ From the accounts of Bartholomew, Rumba's present oboring (born c.1900), in particular, it appears that the mortuary feast, bore ('head'), was the event at which an ambitious individual was most likely to establish himself firmly as a 'big man'. At the same time, an overwhelming prestation at a bore for ego's father could establish ego's de facto rights to the deceased's property. Once again one notes that a balanced exchange represents the Nasioi ideal and that whenever the scales are tipped - in this case by ego's superior prestation to his deceased father's clan or, particularly, the father's close uterine kin - new rights and privileges accrue to the superior giver. The institution of 'head feast' for one's father also clarifies the muddled inheritance picture drawn by Frizzi (1914:20): inheritance ideally followed uterine paths, but the rights could be shifted - most commonly to the deceased's son - by a prestation which the recipients could not or would not reciprocate.

However, feasting was not a simple, monolithic institution. Obtaining the goods for a major distribution involved individual industry, management of the labour of others, and superior knowledge of what are (to Europeans) both natural and supernatural techniques. Knowledge, labour and assistance could be obtained from established leaders to whom the ambitious man claimed kin ties or of whom he simply became an adherent. Thus Bartholomew learned from both his father and mother's brother.

Also connected with pig feasts was the construction and dedication of the toioma ('slit drum').² Toioma (none of which I saw in the Valley but which are still beaten to assemble people in Kongara villages) might be cut as the culmination of a series of mortuary feasts beginning with a 'head feast'. Thus ego could prepare a 'head feast' for his dead father. After the first feast, the tree for the slit drum was felled by members of the deceased's clan, and

¹ Some indication of the variety of these feasts is given on pp.33-7, although I have not attempted an exhaustive listing.

² Cf. Frizzi (1914:50).

subsequent stages in the cutting of the drum were marked by further feasts. At each feast the organiser of the original 'head feast' gave food to the men of the deceased's clan who were preparing the slit drum. Finally these men brought the drum in from the bush, where it had been cut, to the village. Here the feast organiser climbed atop the drum to tell about the amount of food he had presented during the series of feasts.¹

Slit drums might or might not be named. In any event, they were generally set up in a house - built on the ground in contrast to houses raised on poles which were and are the modal dwellings - called karobo. Karobo may be glossed 'men's house', although a Nasioi karobo is not the same as the special structure, surrounded by tabus and/or limited by kinship considerations, found in other parts of Melanesia.²

A slit drum might also be dedicated at the establishment of a new settlement. An ambitious man would clear a new area, amass enough food to hold a feast for the construction and dedication of a drum, and thus offer those who were willing to become his adherents both immediate food and future garden land.³ The following story (tape-recorded in 1963 by Bartholomew) is illustrative:

Baika's affines asked him if they could cut a certain tree to make a toioma. Baika, puzzled, asked his mother, who told him, 'Don't give them the tree. If you do, you'll never become a big man'. When Baika refused, his affines became angry with him and refused him food or assistance. [Baika was apparently a youth living apart from any close adult male kin.] He left his affines and went to the bush, to the future site of Mantonao [an early settlement for some of the people who now live in Rumba]. He had only greens to eat there. His younger sister moved to Keranto to live with their matrilineal kin. Baika followed her and asked her to give him a pig. The adult men of their mu

¹ Cf. Oliver (1955:385-6).

² For example, Rumba elders explicitly denied that youths remained in the men's house to the exclusion of parents' dwellings or that such houses were in any sense the property of a kin group.

³ Cf. Frizzi (1914:23).

gave him a sow, which he took back to his site in the bush. [Here follow details of pig husbandry, naming each new piglet in Baika's herd.] Now that Baika had several pigs, he decided to cut the drum himself. Members of his mu heard of his plans and came from Kongara to help him. They helped him build a house, and put magic substances on the steps to attract followers. They then sent word to others, who cut the drum and carried it to Mantonao. There they had a feast, eating Baika's pigs, and Baika made a speech telling of his efforts. [Thus Mantonao was founded.]

This story, however apocryphal, illustrates in a small way points about the personality of the oboring which were frequently made by my informants. A leader had to be industrious, generous and wise. His ability to settle arguments among his followers was described in terms of his superior knowledge. (For example, having settled an area and watched adherents move in, he knew how to arbitrate land disputes.) Although the feasts given by a leader were obviously competitive and he recited his own accomplishments at the gathering, his personality was described in general terms as nurturant rather than threatening.

Once again a single case history, the best documented in my field notes, will clarify traditional Nasioi leadership, including inheritance and exchange, more readily than a longer, more general description.

Maura was a man of Batuan mu,¹ born in the area which is modern Siromba. His father, Kiriko of Barapan mu [see Genealogy 1], was an oboring who had taken Maura's mother from her home settlement of Mantonao. She returned to Mantonao at his death, with her immature children. Maura grew to manhood at about the time the German administration was being established. He began giving feasts as a young man² and married three times. By giving superior feasts in connection with these marriages,³ he obtained the right to bring the women to his village, and established managerial rights over the

¹ See p.95.

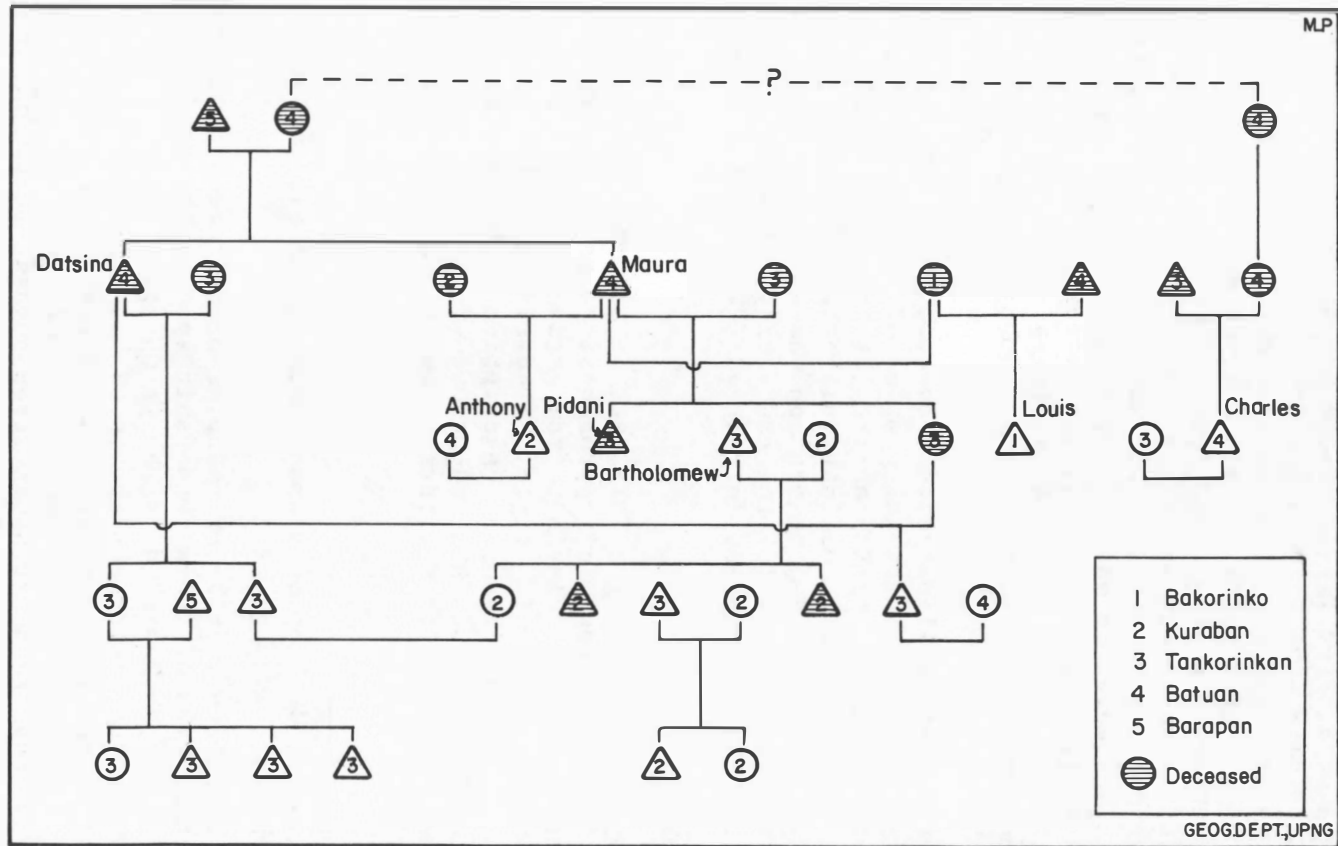
² His first sources of help are not known, but seem likely to have been his mother and her uterine kin.

³ Probably the third marriage involved only a small prestation. Widows with children are at a disadvantage in remarriage today, as noted in Chapter 6.

respective mu lands in which the women gardened. All the women worked hard to raise produce and feed the pigs required for Maura's feasts. Maura was appointed a village headman by the Germans; his younger brother, Datsina, became a policeman and travelled to Rabaul and German [Western] Samoa. Maura had one child, Anthony, who survived to adulthood, by his first [Kuraban] wife, six by his second [Tankorinkan] wife, and none by his third [Bakorinko] wife. However, he taught healing and garden magic to his Bakorinko step-son, Louis, as he did to his uterine 'nephew', Charles. His oldest Tankorinkan son, Pidani, began establishing himself as an oboring with Maura's help between the world wars. However, he died without progeny before World War II began, as did Maura's second and third sons by this wife. This left Bartholomew, whom Maura helped to marry and to establish virilocal residence, with a large prestation to the girl's kin. Maura's brother, Datsina, returned to the Valley and married a total of five times. One of these wives was Maura's eldest [Tankorinkan] daughter; as a 'big man', Datsina could ignore incest rules, and Maura apparently had no objection.¹ Led by Maura, with the assistance of his sons, Bartholomew [Tankorinkan] and Anthony [Kuraban], the people of Mantonao moved from that site to make new gardens and later, at Australian Administration direction, to another settlement on lower ground. Shortly before World War II Maura died; Datsina had predeceased him, leaving only small children. Bartholomew made a huge feast for bore and gave large quantities of food to Maura's Batuan mu-mates. Bartholomew thus consolidated his own status as an oboring, his father's successor, and further claimed rights to areas of Batuan land which Maura had managed by virtue of mu affiliation. [Bartholomew already had rights in his own, Tankorinkan, mu land.] Bartholomew's agnatic half-brother, Anthony, became manager of Kuraban land in the area and was appointed² Maura's successor as "kukerai" or headman. Maura's Bakorinko step-son, Louis, became de facto leader of the local Bakorinko group, his older brother being a feckless individual. All of these

¹ His younger brother's flouting of convention may have indirectly reflected Maura's superior status, as well.

² By the Administration, with the approval of the villagers.



Genealogy 1. Simplified genealogy of Maura, a pre-war oboring

men were nominal Catholics so they did not attempt polygynous unions. Older men attempted to arrange such a union for Charles, Maura's uterine 'nephew', but an indigenous catechist convinced him of the sin involved. Bartholomew continued to attract followers, but through persuasion and the offer of available land rather than through huge feasts. He had learned much of the history of settlements from older men, and he was known to be industrious and even-tempered. At the direction of the government just before World War II began, the settlement was moved to what is now Rumba. In the confusion and dislocation during and just after the war, Bartholomew increased his following by inviting people displaced from the coastal settlement of Demboini to settle at Rumba.¹

Certain points illustrated above may be recapitulated briefly: (a) the traditional complex of feasting-prestige-marriage-industry; (b) the ability of 'big men' to circumvent norms observed by more ordinary villagers; (c) the advantages of affiliation with a 'big man' on whatever basis (son, stepson, 'sister's son'); (d) the continuity established between traditional (oboring) and introduced ("kukerai") leadership.²

Economic life

Production: gardens. This section inevitably departs from a purely 'ethno-economic' approach since both 'economic life' and 'production' as distinct from gardens are analytic categories extra-Nasioi in origin. Traditional Nasioi life fitted Hogbin's (1958:153) general description of Melanesia: 'Native life revolved around the gardens.... Several of the languages, too, used the word that literally meant "to cultivate" for the

¹ Subsequent developments among Maura's 'circle' are described in Chapters 6 to 8.

² See Salisbury (1964) for examples of different forms which the interaction of these leadership systems has produced in New Guinea. My Nasioi data, as in Chapters 6 and 8, indicate that while the government-appointed "kukerai" and "tultul" (a kind of 'executive secretary' or 'chairman of the board' in relation to the "kukerai" as 'president') may not always be oboring, they are never nonentities pushed out as 'front men'. The present "kukerai" of Siromba is an oboring in traditional terms.

general expression "to work".¹ Rausch (1912a:121, 131, 987) indicates the same linguistic usage for the Nasioi.

An important feature of gardening - especially in contrast to recent developments - concerned uncleared land covered with 'primary forest' (iaba). Such a tract was apparently converted to an economic good, and primary rights established, by clearing the land for gardens. Thus Frizzi (1914:23) refers to free land which a man might occupy as his own, to clear and then to erect houses. Elsewhere Frizzi's description (1914:21) is less clear but, whatever is meant by 'Gemeindebesitz', the ability of an individual to build and plant on his own initiative supports the notion that clearing primary forest transformed a natural phenomenon into economic property.

Chapter 8 emphasises that Aropa Nasioi today are in serious disagreement about land tenure, the situation having been complicated by European influence. Nevertheless, the most reasonable reconstruction is that an individual, having created property by clearing primary forest from a particular tract, could make his own garden and, if he so desired, offer garden land to others. Garden land seems to have been allotted, in order, to the clearer's wife or wives, women of his mu, wives of his male mu-mates, and other households and individuals who were willing to affiliate with him in his (new?) role as 'big man'. His 'managerial' rights over the land were ideally transmitted by inheritance through uterine lines, subject to demographic variation and the systematised transfer of rights through exchange, for example, at a 'head feast'. Clearing the tract probably gave the individual and his followers (kinsmen or not) exclusive rights to hunting and fishing over adjacent land and streams. That such rights were less systematised is indicated by informants' stories of conflict over these exploitative activities, in contrast to what seems to have been a more smoothly operating pattern of garden tenure. It also seems that a sufficiently impressive oboring could simply lay claim to tracts of iaba land without clearing it; certainly Maura did so.² It must be emphasised that, given a probable demographic situation which included a high death rate (especially in infant and maternal mortality), no population pressure existed on the land before World War II.

¹ Cf. also Salisbury (1962:67-8).

² Cf. p.155.

Mintong was the generic term for 'garden' (and 'work'); specific types included mato, 'taro [only] garden' (Rausch 1912a:117); notang, 'paddy' (especially for swamp taro); and barui, which seems to have been distinct on both technological (a barui was pre-eminently a yam garden) and social (informants associated barui with oboring) grounds.

Modern Nasioi divided the traditional gardening process into stages which varied according to individual informants. The basic steps may be summarised as follows (and are applicable today): (a) daka, in which the bush was attacked with axes and bush knives to fell the larger trees; the term might be glossed 'felling trees' (to make gardens) or simply, 'heavy clearing work'; (b) dankari, 'clearing brush' (to make gardens), that is, the smaller shrubs, vines, etc., were cut and piled in heaps around the garden site; (c) duke, which viewed etymologically might be glossed 'cleaning'; this was the final stage of clearing the garden site when the piles of rubbish were burned, leaving a clean plot; and (d) keng, 'planting'.

Although not regarded by Nasioi as a 'gardening stage' in the same sense as the above, a very important activity in making a traditional garden was the building of fences. Fences were necessary to keep out destructive pigs and were generally constructed before the duke burning took place. These fences, built to a height of about four feet, enclosed the entire cleared site; within the fenced area logs served as boundaries to distinguish individual plots.

As throughout Melanesia, Nasioi garden work was divided along sex lines. Daka was an exclusively male activity; dankari and duke were performed by both sexes with men handling the heavier tasks. Fence-making was exclusively done by men, and is described today as the most difficult part of garden work. After duke was complete, gardens became the exclusive province of the women, and informants claim that a hungry man did not dare go into his wife's garden to get food without her permission.¹

Informants and early sources (Blackwood 1931:427, Frizzi 1914:25) agree that the basic crop in traditional Nasioi gardens was taro. However, Blackwood (1931:427) also lists the yam as a staple, while Frizzi (1914:25) claims yams are found only sporadically. Once again the discrepancy may be related to the existence of barui gardens.

¹ Cf. Salisbury (1962:63), Frizzi (1914:24-5).

The spread of the sweet potato (koteo) in the South Pacific is a problem of continuing interest¹ and data concerning this crop among the Nasioi are typically fragmentary. Frizzi (1914: 25) refers to the plant in 1911-12 as newly introduced but heavily planted and suggests it may have replaced the yam. Informants support the assertion that the crop is relatively new in the Valley, but cannot say when or how it was introduced. One very old woman told me (through her Pidgin-speaking son) that the vines just appeared in the area and that all the people thought the plant was another variety of watercress until they discovered the nourishing root. In any event, all informants agreed that sweet potato was a foodstuff traditionally less important than taro, yam or, probably, bananas; perhaps sweet potato was only slightly more common in the diet than sago.

Coconuts do not seem to have been planted in quantity until the German administration pressured the people to do so; each garden probably contained a few trees. While canarium almond and areca nut trees were said to have been individually owned, like the coconut, they were apparently not cultivated but constituted a resource like a fishing stream.

Attempts to measure productivity or to specify the rhythm of traditional Nasioi gardening founder on Nasioi disinterest in quantification as Europeans understand it.² As noted earlier, there are no marked seasonal variations in Aropa Valley climate, and the starchy crops cultivated bear evenly throughout the year (Barrau 1958:42). Informants agreed that only one crop of taro was taken from a garden; this would accord with Barrau's (1958:25) general observation that Melanesian gardens in rain forest areas are in use for about a year before being left fallow. Similarly Nasioi took bananas from the gardens, after other crops had been harvested, during the first year or two of the fallow period. Thus the Aropa Valley situation seems to have been the same as general Melanesian practice:

...the area used for cultivation by bush-fallowing rotation in Melanesia has often been overestimated....
In fact, the areas of land required...are relatively

¹ See, for example, Watson (1965).

² Cf. Rausch (1912a:109). The modern situation is little different, and now various social factors operate to promote deliberate deceit in discussions of such matters; see Chapters 1 and 7.

limited, despite the fact that the land is left idle for long periods [ten to twenty years]...as a general rule, bush fallowing constitutes an economic and effective means of utilizing the soil while, at the same time, conserving its fertility. (Barrau 1958:76)

Land left fallow continued to be regarded as property, and the clearing of secondary vegetation did not change ultimate rights to the tract. Such control normally remained in the hands of co-resident members of the mu to which belonged the original clearer(s) of the primary forest. Men of other mu who wished in later years to clear secondary forest in order to make gardens, had to seek out the 'manager' or spokesman(men) of that mu-group.¹ Transfer of rights from the mu-group of original clearer(s) would otherwise be effected by the kinds of exchange described above and below.

Nasioi informants saw the abandonment of gardens in terms of fencing; that is, they described cultivation as a battle to keep crops safe from pigs. By the time that the taro crop had been harvested, the fences were in a state of severe disrepair. Disinclination to re-build a fence seemed to be as much a factor as reduced soil fertility in the decision to abandon a garden. In contrast, no man complained about the effort expended in clearing tracts.

Production: pigs. Nasioi regarded raising pigs as serious business. Whereas Nasioi women had primary responsibility for the gardens which provided the bulk of subsistence (Frizzi 1914:24), men were the pig-raisers. But, as in other activities, this sexual division of labour was complementary, not dichotomous: just as men did the heavy work connected with gardens, so did women provide vegetable food for their spouses' or kinsmen's swine.

Pigs were kept in the settlement while young but, when sufficiently grown to forage in the bush, were allowed to roam. Nasioi built fences to keep pigs out of gardens, not to keep them in the village (except when temporary pens were made to keep pigs safe for a feast). A woman cooked twice in the afternoon: first for her household, then for the pigs. This food was given to the pigs when they were called into the settlement area in the morning. It was considered very important to keep the pig well fed, not only for the animal's health but to keep it satisfied, lest it stray too far from

¹ Cf. Chapter 6.

the owner's settlement.¹ The need for abundant vegetable food implied a limitation on the size of a herd. Normally a couple could not hope to keep more than five adult pigs; a single man would be lucky to keep two. This consideration affected family organisation: a man who wished to raise pigs in a big way would prefer to have many wives but few children, since the women could thus maintain a large supply of pig fodder.

Nasioi pig husbandry included techniques both natural and supernatural, by Western standards. In general, boars were killed for feasts, while sows were retained for breeding. However, sows were carefully observed and those less fertile, or careless in rearing a litter, might also be slaughtered. Boars might be castrated to make them fatter and less likely to roam afar. Breeding was not controlled by selecting a boar; it was assumed that sows would mate with feral boars. Special 'medicinal' plants were fed to pigs to increase size, health and/or fertility.²

Since pigs roamed away from the settlement to forage, questions of ownership seem to have created vexing problems. A boy's first pig was generally given to him by his biological or classificatory 'mother', or some other close uterine kin. The owner tried to prevent the loss of his pig by keeping it near the settlement while young, by feeding it well, and by using supernatural spells and prayers. He notched the pig's ear in a distinctive pattern as identification. Nevertheless, if a Nasioi caught another's pig destroying his garden, he could kill and eat the animal with relative impunity. Knowledge of pig husbandry might be passed from father to son, but a man's animals were generally eaten at his death by his uterine kin and mu-mates.³

¹ According to the Rumba oboring: "Pig i gat tinktink olsem man. Sapos kaikai i no gut, pig i go long narapela hap" ('A pig is intelligent like a man. If his food is inadequate, he goes elsewhere').

² See also p.30.

³ This consumption might take place as part of a 'head feast', in which case the deceased's son did 'inherit' in the sense of accruing prestige.

Once again one must emphasise the conflict, in Nasioi minds, between pig-raising and gardening.¹ Pigs were in direct competition with the owner's household for the produce of gardens since the animals had to be fed, and fed well, from those gardens. More significant, according to Nasioi accounts today, was the danger of pig depredations in one's garden, necessitating the fence-building described as the most arduous kind of gardening task. Detailed quantitative data are not available but Blackwood (1931:427), at least, says the animals were a luxury and eaten only on special occasions. This would indicate that even in terms of protein consumption, Nasioi pig-raising was not 'efficient'. Since Nasioi today specifically state that pig depredations sometimes caused them to go hungry (i.e., in terms of total calorie intake), their testimony is in contrast to that from, for example, Kapauku (Pospisil 1963:207).

Production: hunting, fishing and gathering. Data on these activities are particularly ambiguous. As noted earlier, there are no game animals other than opossum in the bush today, and this seems to have been true also of the past. Informants agree with Blackwood (1931:427) that opossum - and birds and fish - were plentiful in the past, in contrast to the present, but such comments are typical of nostalgia for "gut taim bipo". Opossum and birds were hunted with bow and arrow. Feral pigs were a much more challenging game, involving the use of a pack of dogs. The hunt might be carried out by individuals or groups; in the latter case, the pig would be driven into a net or pit,² and speared or trussed up to be carried to the settlement.

Hunting was exclusively a male occupation in the Aropa Valley, but fishing might be done by either sex. That by women might better be classed as 'gathering' since the prey were mostly crayfish and freshwater snails whose burned shell provided lime for betel chewing. When men fished, they dammed up a section of river and caught fish and eel in nets stretched across a smaller branch stream.

Traditionally skill in these activities seems to have been highly valued and involved the same kind of supernatural

¹ This is especially noteworthy in view of recent (Vayda et al 1961, Pospisil 1963, Rappaport 1967) discussions of 'economic efficiency' in Melanesian pig-raising.

² Cf. Frizzi (1914:25-6).

considerations as gardening and pig-raising.¹ However, there is some doubt as to whether pre-war Nasioi considered hunting and fishing 'production' in a sense comparable to the former tasks. (Certainly informants today sneer at "ol man bilong bipo" who spent their time in the bush rather than planting coconuts.) A further ambiguity surrounds the contribution which hunting and fishing made to daily subsistence; it seems that Aropa Valley men were most interested in pigs, whether village or feral.

The most valuable products gathered were canarium almond and areca nut. In both cases the trees were said to be individually owned and ideally inherited along uterine lines. Almonds ripened seasonally, could be smoked and stored in bamboo sections, were gathered particularly by women and children, and probably constituted a valuable source of protein, whether or not so recognised by the Nasioi. Areca nut was gathered by men (since the tree had to be climbed to an appreciable height). Its use varied among individuals but was essentially an adult indulgence, and seems to have been a particular feature of hospitality, being offered to casual visitors as well as to those attending an exchange.

Other production. Since this study is more concerned with social than with technological aspects of production, such matters as pottery-making and house-building are discussed under 'Exchange'.² Production of items in everyday use generally followed a sexual division of labour. Men fashioned axe handles, pig nets, bows and arrows while women made various types of mats. The items were made by individuals and seem to have been inherited from parent to child of the same sex. Thus, for men, inheritance of these smaller items of personal property may have been an exception to ideal transmission through uterine lines. However, such property might easily be destroyed at a cremation.³

Religion and production. The assistance of supernatural (to Europeans) beings was a sine qua non for any kind of productive activity. Since the missionaries naturally concentrated their initial efforts on the destruction of these ideas, it is difficult to reconstruct traditional Nasioi attitudes and practices in detail, but the basic theme of dependence on the spirits of the dead for successful production is unmistakable.

¹ See p.30.

² See pp.32-3 and 39.

³ See p.36.

Both Frizzi and Rausch argue that Nasioi believed in supernatural beings who might be called 'gods'. Such beings as Frizzi describes (1914:3-14) are known, if at all, to my Nasioi informants as names in isolated folk-tales. Kumponi and Kopeo, whose names I read aloud from Rausch (1912a), were recognised by Rumba villagers, the younger of whom identified them as 'like God'. On the other hand, the comments of older men indicated that Kopeo, the better known of the two, might be considered as primus inter pares among the spirits of the dead, analogous to an oboring among the living.

Frizzi (1914:11) mentions two kinds of soul, a 'mirror soul' ('Tanua') and a 'shadow soul' ('Manna'). The former goes at death to the underworld located in Mt Bagana; the latter remains as an active force in daily life. The term here spelled tanuang ('soul') was not ordinarily used by my informants, although they recognised it when I read it from Rausch (1912a:116) and responded with the Pidgin "sol". On the other hand, ma'naang ('ghost', 'spirit')¹ are very much in the people's thoughts today.

The ma'naang were the essential source of power in traditional Nasioi belief. If one's pigs were to grow fat and strong, if one's crops were to thrive, if one was to be successful in hunting, the ma'naang's help had to be sought. A Valley man in his fifties succinctly summed up in Pidgin how vital the ma'naang were to productive activity: lacking ma'naang help, "Yu kam bun nating tasol" ('you starved to death').

Published sources and informants agree on the techniques of propitiating 'spirits'. A small house, resembling a European bird-house, was set on a pole behind one's dwelling, a small fire built inside, and tasty morsels of pig, opossum and other delicacies placed on the fire. This house was the dopo² where the ancestral 'spirits' dwelt. It is unclear from informants' accounts whether ancestral 'spirits' were

¹ Strictly speaking, ma'naang is singular, ma'naari plural.

² Cf. Blackwood (1931:427), Chinnery (n.d.:72-3), Frizzi (1914:11). This is obviously the same as the lopo reported from Choiseul by Scheffler (1965a:251). The identity of the term, its physical structure and function in both an Austro-nesian and a non-Austronesian group are typical of the problems which should be clarified by the new research in Solomon Islands ethnology.

propitiated as individuals or groups, or how kinship alignments affected the system. Since the dopo was associated with the household as a social unit, it seems likely that each member made offerings to whatever spirits he thought of. Nasioi disinterest in such matters effectively precludes the possibility that this ritual accurately reflected a living individual's genealogy.

Further offerings and prayers to spirits were necessary for rain, healing, and dopa ('sorcery'). To judge from informants' accounts, no impersonal spiritual power comparable to Austronesian "mana" existed in traditional Nasioi life. Rather, ultimate control over all the above activities rested in spirits. The reverse of the ma'naang's productive powers was the ability to bring all manner of misfortunes to him who failed in propitiation.

I do not wish to belabour the point, since it is discussed further below and in a separate context (Ogan n.d.), but no one who fails to appreciate the traditional Nasioi attitude of absolute dependence on ma'naang can deal effectively with either their ethnography or modern conditions of social change.

Intra-Valley exchange. I have already discussed certain kinds of exchanges which took place among Aropa Valley Nasioi in connection with marriage and leadership. What follows is a more detailed description of these and other exchanges as I have reconstructed them, primarily from informants' accounts. I have organised the material in a manner which seemed to facilitate exposition; I have not attempted to provide here a Nasioi 'taxonomy' of exchange.

One may infer from observing village life today that traditionally Nasioi participated in many informal exchanges in the course of daily activity. These would include the provision of food and/or betel to casual visitors, and the exchange of baby-sitting services, either for food or for the same service at a later date, among women in the settlement. The informality of such exchanges, and the lack of specialised terms for them, make specific data thereon inaccessible today. Therefore one can simply note the virtual certainty of their occurrence in the past. A more formal arrangement, about which informants can still provide information, was the exchange of food and other material goods for the services of healing, divining and sorcery. A traditional (probably only part-time) specialist was the nankai.¹ I gloss nankai

¹ Cf. Frizzi (1914:14), Rausch (1912a:987).

'diviner' since informants always described him in positive terms, although it is a priori likely that his powers could be used to harm as well as help people. (There were no men identified as nankai in the Valley during my fieldwork, although I was told of the death of a very old man with these powers in a village near Koromira.) Diviners, who were apparently male, derived their power from an ancestral spirit and in that sense the role might be described as hereditary.¹ Villagers today can cite specific cases of a diviner healing by sucking out illness in the form of stones,² but place greater emphasis on his importance in identifying the sorcerer believed to have caused a death.

Other kinds of 'practical' therapy were apparently known as well, to infer from the two 'chiropractors' in the Valley during 1962-64, but such practitioners were distinct from diviners and might be of either sex.

A practitioner of 'sorcery' (dopa, Pidgin "poison")³ clearly occupied an ambiguous role in society, and even today informants who talk freely of dopa in general are reluctant to discuss a particular sorcerer. In terms of exchange, two factors are noteworthy: the sorcerer's most frequent customer is said to have been the oboring, who might maintain his status by thus eliminating rivals and/or obstreperous followers; the medium par excellence of exchange for this service was makutu ('shell valuables').⁴ Apparently diviners might receive makutu for their service but informants give the impression that they and the 'practical healers' were more likely to be given luxury foods and goods locally manufactured (e.g., mats; later "laplap" tended to replace such items). Although today Valley Nasioi describe the Kongara people as fearsome sorcerers, no mention was made of hiring extra-Valley practitioners in the past, and description of divination after a death indicates that the suspect was usually discovered not far from the victim.

Exchanges also took place in connection with productive activities. One can class clearing a garden site as the exchange of labour (the oboring's) for followers, or of labour (the immigrant, would-be follower's) for garden land. However, gardening might also involve the exchange of labour for food. A man would call other men to clear his plot, and give

¹ Cf. Frizzi (1914:14).

² Cf. Frizzi (1914:15).

³ Cf. Rausch (1912a:991).

⁴ See pp.39-42.

them a feast for their trouble. Sometimes, say informants, this kind of exchange was carried out at the settlement level, one village acting as hosts, the other as workers. A man might make a similar arrangement to have his house built by others while he provided food. Whether for gardening or house-building, the feast was known as duabo. Should a leader decide to have work performed in this fashion, his greater status and authority or personality gave the term boto ('order, command') to the exchange, but he still provided a feast for the workers. These work feasts provided, in addition to the practical consideration of production, the opportunity for prestige and status advancement and/or consolidation, if the feast-giver(s) presented food in quantity and quality sufficient to be recognised as disproportionate to the labour supplied.

The exchanges most important according to traditional Nasioi attitudes were those connected with events in the life cycle of an individual. While these events were universal, the decision to mark such occasions with exchanges depended on the status of the individual in question¹ and the present or hoped-for prestige of the feast-giver. Indeed, such exchanges might begin even before the individual's birth, when women who came to the house of an expectant mother (particularly during the first pregnancy) to 'see if the child was placed properly in the womb' received food and betel.

Although Nasioi women do not seem to have been isolated from the settlement during child-birth, both mother and child remained in seclusion for an extended period.² During this period only the child's father and grandparents were supposed to see the baby. (Although informants do not so specify, presumably these were the maternal grandparents since, in ideal uxori-locality, the paternal grandparents might be living some distance away.) Eventually the child was brought outside the house to be introduced to the other members of his community, at which time his close kin - both agnatic and uterine, say present-day Nasioi - gave a feast. This feast, and others until marriage, were called bauta, which I gloss 'growing-up feast'.

¹ Thus feasts were more likely to be given on behalf of a first born than subsequent children, or 'head feast' for a deceased father who had been an oboring.

² Two years for the son of a chief in south Bougainville, according to Parkinson (1907:482).

The introduction of the child to the community was probably the most important occasion for, and therefore the one most likely to be marked by, bauta but almost any new experience could set off such a prestation: the first time the child was placed on the ground, the child's first trip to the garden or to the river or to almond or areca trees, the child's first visit to his uncle or aunt, and so forth. Many of these 'firsts' involved no more than the exchange of betel among women, who were always very prominent participants in bauta with their unaccompanied singing and considerable clowning, including mock battles between 'aunts'. On the other hand, such 'firsts' as the lifting of a childhood food tabu (e.g., on pig) were more likely to involve the efforts of male kinsmen, and be a genuine feast including pig and opossum, almonds and coconuts.¹

If a child had been named after a living individual, especially an oboring (or aspirant), the adult might make extra prestations to his namesake and kin, or find any number of opportunities to make bauta. Whereas most 'growing-up feasts' involved the child's matriclan rather than that of the child's father, feasts by an adult name-giver might necessitate a different 'balancing of the books', for example between the name-giver's and child's respective clans.²

It would appear that occasions for 'growing-up feasts' were relatively few after a child reached the age of ten or so although, to repeat, all sorts of childhood events might serve as a pretext for an ambitious feast-giver. A generally accepted time for bauta after early childhood was a girl's first menstruation. At this time, the girl was strictly isolated within her own house, forbidden to handle fire or water, and cared for by female kin, especially 'aunts'.

Informants disagreed as to whether a girl was scarified as beautification during this period or at a different time

¹ Children were breast-fed even longer than today, up to and beyond the age of four; cf. Frizzi (1914:20).

² An informant raised in Guava census division insisted that, if the namesake came from a different village, exchanges of feasts might take place between the villages as units. It seems likely that any occasion for a traditional exchange might involve either individuals or groups of different sizes and compositions. See other portions of the present chapter, and pp.138-9 for a modern example at a first menstruation.

within a relatively few months of menarche. In any event these scars - from shoulder to mid-thigh, front and back, in contradistinction to Frizzi's (1914:44) reports - were ideally cut by 'aunts'. However, skill was a more important factor in the choice of an operator than kin connection. The woman who cut the scars was given food in a separate feast - exchange of food for services - by the girl's parents (Frizzi 1914:44).¹ The ideology behind this exchange was compensation to the woman who had been in contact with blood.

At the end of an isolation described as lasting one or two months, the girl emerged from the house at a feast provided by her nuclear kin, with (ideally) balancing contributions by her own and her father's matriclans (and/or that of her betrothed). In addition to the feast, her 'growing-up feast' involved older women washing her and performing other ritual acts to make her healthy and attractive.²

Exchanges at betrothal and marriage have already been described but two additional points may be noted: informants said that both bride's and groom's kin might co-operate in building the couple a house, which would be the occasion for a 'marriage feast'. In addition, the term kaatana was applied to a feast given to settle a quarrel between bride and groom.

Settlement of disputes by exchange and feasting is particularly clear in funerary prestations. While emphasis was placed above on the use of 'head feasts' to effect transfer of property rights and status - for such transfer was apparently vital in the traditional leadership system - both the etymology of the term and some informants' accounts indicate another facet of the feast: 'paying for the head' of the

¹ Cf. also Parkinson (1907:487).

² See p.107 for the modern equivalent. The Nasioi observance of first menstruation is especially noteworthy since it contrasts so sharply with practices reported for other non-Austronesian groups on the island. Neither Siwai (Oliver 1955) nor Buin (H. Thurnwald 1934:146) performed such ceremonies, while the non-Austronesian Aita in the north seem to have observed only the adolescence of boys in a system like the upi cult of their Austronesian neighbours (R. Franke: personal communication, 1966). Information on adolescence among the Nagovisi will be provided in the future by D. and J. Mitchell.

deceased.¹ In other words, one reason for making 'head feast' was the compensation of the deceased's matriclan for his loss; his clan might taunt the widow(er) and children if they failed to make this prestation.

Mortuary feasts might be elaborate in the extreme, depending on the status of the deceased, the degree to which circumstances of death suggested especially nefarious sorcery, and the ambitions of the feast-giver(s). Common features were: retention of the corpse until all kin had gathered; destruction of the deceased's house, coconut trees and personal property by his matriclan; tabus on bathing by the widow(er) and on some foods for his survivors and/or particularly close associates; cremation involving dancing and leaping over the fire; and divination to determine the identity of the sorcerer who was believed to have caused the death.²

All the different exchanges operated, however imperfectly in practice, towards an ideal of perfect reciprocity: one prestation created an obligation which had to be repaid. Thus the survivors of the deceased's family of procreation provided food and betel, while men of the deceased's clan played pan-pipes and the women sang. Eventually the deceased's matriclan should make a feast in return, connected with a memorial enclosure,³ with corresponding reversal of other roles in the festivities. Even murder believed to have been caused by sorcery and its revenge, by killing the sorcerer, were supposed to balance, followed by an even exchange of feasts between the associates (whether matriclan, village, or both is not clear from modern reports) of the original victim and the now defunct sorcerer. Informants repeated continually the necessity for balance and ultimate settlement: "Wanpela lain i mekim, narapela lain i bekim. Bekim, bekim

¹ Head-hunting, described in early accounts from south Bougainville (Frizzi 1914:21), is both too far removed in time and too shameful in terms of mission teaching for Nasioi today to provide much information about the practice. However, 'head feasts' and other customs connected with the lower jaw of men and pigs must certainly reflect the past occurrence of this practice.

² For this last point, see Blackwood (1931:431), which account succinctly agrees with the more detailed reports of my informants. Cf. also Frizzi (1914:12-14) and Chinnery (n.d.:73).

³ Cf. Chinnery (n.d.:73).

orait tok [kros] i mas dai pinis" ('One side acts, the other side responds. After the balance the quarrel must cease').

Similar ideas of settling conflict or the possibility thereof underly two other feasts connected with, but ordinarily occurring some time after, a death. The first was tu'natu'na; it is said to have been given by a man who had been on bad terms with the deceased and seems to have ensured that the feast-giver would not, at some later date, be accused of having had a hand in the death. The second was sikansiri (homonymous, at least, with the name of a tree, the wood of which was used in cremation); this prestation occurred when the widow wished to remarry. She, with the help of her intended spouse, made another feast for the matriclan of her dead husband, thus compensating them for any rights they might still feel they had in her person or services.

Taro, yam and bananas were basic to any exchange of food. However, the most prestigious item at a feast was pork; the lower jaws of animals slaughtered for feasts were displayed as important status symbols.¹ Other luxury foods provided at feasts were opossum, almonds and betel, and fish, crayfish and eel from the rivers. The bigger the feast, the greater the likelihood that a wooden frame for displaying the food would be constructed, and speeches made reflecting the prestige of the host. The host, however, did not distribute the food; this was done by an associate who might himself be a guest. The distributed food (or betel or occasionally such valuable or useful objects as mats) was never consumed at the time but was taken home by guests.² Depending on the nature of the feast, singing, the playing of pan-pipes and/or dancing to the pounding of bamboo sections were featured. If the occasion were truly festive, it included considerable horseplay such as a mock battle - which also underlined the basic notion of opposition between two parties who were to be reconciled by balanced exchange.

Extra-Valley exchange. Even the skeletal presentation above demonstrates the importance of exchanges within the Valley in the traditional life of the Nasioi; it is impossible within the available space to indicate all the techniques, alignments and social subtleties involved. Key factors peculiar to exchanges between the Aropa Valley people on the one hand and the mountaineers or coastal dwellers on

¹ Cf. Blackwood (1931:428), Frizzi (1914:14).

² Cf. Blackwood (1931:427).

the other are ecology and extra-Nasioi contact, but balanced reciprocity remains basic to the transactions.

Their environment provided the Valley Nasioi with abundant coconuts, sago, bananas, canarium almonds and areca nuts. The same relatively gentle terrain which made gardening easier gave pigs greater opportunity to roam, while offering less shelter for game. The mountain dwellers in what is now the Kongara census division lived at an altitude too high for any of the plants named to thrive; indeed, Kongara is reputed to 'mean', according to an etymology obscure to me, 'place without coconuts'. However difficult these forested highlands were to garden, they gave a home to opossum and, at the same time, wood for bows and arrows with which to hunt the animal.

Exchange between the Valley and the mountains, then, meant that the Kongara people would carry down bows, arrows, baskets, smoked opossum and 'native' tobacco.¹ They would return bearing coconuts, sago (the leaves for roofing and only secondarily, if at all, the pith for food), almond, and materials for betel-chewing. In addition, they might obtain pots (see below) from the Valley.

Coastal dwellers needed, particularly, taro; opossum, coconuts, areca nuts and weapons were secondary. In return they provided smoked or fresh fish, salt water (Frizzi 1914:27), and both the technical knowledge and clay for pottery.

These exchanges were thus conditioned but not absolutely determined by ecology. The advantage possessed by the Valley people as 'middlemen' gave them more options as to whether they should try for self-sufficiency in such items as opossum, or specialise in production of, for example, taro. Unfortunately for analysis, these decisions cannot be reconstructed today, but the remarkable lack of manual arts (especially in weapon-making and basketry) in the Valley in 1962 suggests that, indeed, such specialisation took place above and beyond ecological considerations.²

¹ The origins of this tobacco are in doubt; Nasioi were definitely growing the crop before World War I.

² The extra-Valley exchanges appear very similar, if not identical, to what Salisbury (1962:84-90) calls 'luxury activities' among the Siane. Materials such as sago leaves for roofing cannot, I think, be described as a 'luxury' for the Kongara Nasioi.

Further, specialisation reflected variable opportunities for contact with other groups. The coastal people obviously had most, the Kongara least, contact with the Austronesian speakers who raided and/or settled along the beach. The effect of such contact is most apparent in the spread of pottery. Nasioi pottery-making (described at some length in Ogan 1970a) is probably of Austronesian origin: Frizzi (1914: 37) says the Alu women were Bougainville's potters while the only Rumba woman who could still produce pots told of a 'woman from Torau' who discovered the art. Coastal Nasioi learned pottery-making first (perhaps in exchange for clay) and must have held a monopoly for many years. They presented pots to the Valley people who, in turn, passed them on in exchange to the mountaineers. Probably not much before World War II, increased movement of people (e.g., in marriage or fleeing sorcery-marked settlements) seems to have brought a few potters - the art was for the Nasioi, as reported for the Alu, a female specialty - into the Valley. However, these transplanted craftswomen still had to obtain the clay in exchange from the coast.

These extra-Valley exchanges are today clearly distinguished by the Nasioi from European-style trade ("bisnis olsem yupela waitaman"). Groups in different areas would establish friendships ("ol i mekim pren long ol man long nabis") which would permit the transactions outlined: putative kin connections might facilitate this relationship. Parkinson (1907:480) provides a valuable description of such a transaction at a time when social organisation beyond the hamlet level was atomistic and tinged with the threat of violence. In summary:

Two armed groups meet on the beach, line up and sing. The women line up their respective piles of taro and fish. An old man of each group comes forth with a bamboo tube of water; the two exchange words and sprinkle water in all directions. The accompanying armed men of each group exchange betel. The old men oversee the exchange made by the women.

Failure to establish an exchange relationship might necessitate more dangerous means of obtaining the desired material, and older Kongara men still laugh about their adventures when creeping into the Valley to steal coconuts. In general, however, Nasioi in their different ecological niches were able to work out exchanges of this kind, again aiming at an ideal pattern of perfect reciprocity between units in opposition.

Special features. The first of these is makutu or duku ('shell valuables'). Makutu consisted of seashells strung in

varying lengths. (The example I saw during fieldwork was composed of a single variety of shells approximately $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length making up a string about two feet long.) Although Rausch (1912a:110) glosses this term 'Muschelgeld', Nasioi informants were remarkably explicit and insistent that makutu was not like European money. Whereas anyone might possess the latter, only older men, especially oboring, had makutu. Nor was makutu employed in all sorts of exchanges. Those specifically described as involving makutu were: makutu for sorcery;¹ makutu presented to a deceased spouse's matriclan as part of 'remarriage feasts'; and makutu presented to the bride's clan in 'marriage feasts'. I recorded only one case of the last-named; it is probably significant that the groom had worked outside Bougainville. Other testimony implied the use of makutu in 'growing-up feasts'.

Rumba's oboring, in particular, described makutu as circulating infrequently; much of the time the strings of shells remained buried in the ground. Makutu was inherited through uterine lines and may even have been, in a sense, matriclan property which one man held for all, analogous to the individual 'management' of land to which all members of a clan had rights. Transmission of makutu from father to son necessitated a return feast by the latter to his father's clan. While such a feast might have been part of a 'head feast', some informants indicated that a 'big man' might decorate a small child with makutu at a 'growing-up feast'. If the child were a uterine kinsman, such display would not have changed ultimate ownership. However, if the child were the 'big man's' son, or namesake from another clan, the child's clan would be obliged to 'balance the books' with a return feast.

The origin of makutu was even less clear in present informants' minds than the details of traditional exchange involving these 'valuables', but there is general agreement that makutu came from islands other than Bougainville. While the Rumba oboring spoke of Kilinailu or Petats as possible sources, the Buin evidence (R. Thurnwald 1934) suggests the Shortland Islands. In either case, makutu would have come to the Nasioi from Austronesian speakers.

A second problematic feature of traditional life was teekira. The term referred to the destruction of a man's property by members of his own clan on the occasion of his suffering a

¹ Cf. Belshaw (1950:175), Scheffler (1965a:203) and (1965b:24).

misfortune. Teekira is always described as relating to a misfortune other than the individual's death; a different term is used for destruction as part of the funeral rites. However, the misfortune might involve visible human actors (e.g., the seduction of the man's wife) or not (e.g., a fall from a coconut tree). In either case, his clan-mates would swoop down on his settlement, kill his chickens, dogs and pigs, chop down his coconut or other economically valuable trees, and damage his house - all to the accompaniment of cries of rage at the injury done to their mmaiko (strictly 'clan-mate' but also 'friend, comrade').

The motive given by all informants for teekira, regardless of the kind of misfortune suffered, was anger that distress had come to a kinsman. This explanation might be opposed or supplemented by the following analytic suggestions, none of which came from the Nasioi themselves and which are not mutually exclusive: (a) teekira could serve as a redistributive device, since the 'avengers' took home all the edible animals they killed;¹ (b) excuses might be found to make teekira in order to chasten an obstreperous clan-mate;² (c) in the case of a misfortune (e.g., adultery) perpetrated by another person or group on the victim, teekira could provide warning - without open violence against the offenders - that the victim could rally armed support unless his tormentors treated him better in the future. That this means of preventing conflict before it reached feud proportions had 'survival value' in a small-scale society lacking developed political structures is the kind of 'functionalist' hypothesis which has a priori appeal but is difficult to test scientifically.³

Conclusion

Although the foregoing descriptive material may suffer from gaps in the data or overly compressed exposition, two basic points should be clear.

The first concerns the traditional Nasioi value placed on balanced exchange and the effect of unbalanced exchange on establishing differential social status. Whether in terms of food, labour, marriage or murder, the ideal was one of a

¹ See p.43.

² Cf. Biggs (1960:48-9) for a possible Maori parallel.

³ Cf. Warner (1958:109-13) for a Mungin parallel.

balance between units - individuals, households, matriclans, villages - in opposition. Whenever the exchange was unbalanced, the unit making the larger prestation gained in prestige and influence at the expense of its opponent.

As Salisbury (1968:480), among others, has pointed out, it is not always easy to determine the exact degree of 'balance' in inter-individual transactions. However, one may at least speculate, on the basis of other Melanesian material, that opportunity for unbalanced exchange became more frequent for the Nasioi in the twentieth century. Indeed, one might argue that the technological and ecological shifts discussed below constitute an essential distinction between 'traditional' and 'aboriginal' Nasioi life.

The relevant considerations involve the requirements of shifting cultivation. Such horticultural practice, continued over years within a given area, will inevitably reduce the amount of primary forest, so that more land covered only with secondary vegetation will become available. Other writers, for example Goodenough (1955), have discussed the possible differences in labour expended in gardens made in these two kinds of ecological setting. There need be no single social result produced by such different labour requirements¹ but one obvious possibility is that, the same amount of effort producing greater return in gardening on land with secondary cover, an individual will have the option of applying increased resources to desired ends. In the Nasioi case, an individual would be able to produce more food for exchange in feasts. The introduction of more efficient tools (e.g., metal axes and machetes) would have a like effect in gardening (and might be even more useful in fence-building).

Whatever the abstract appeal of this 'ecological' or 'technological' argument, there exist data from Melanesia and elsewhere which offer analogic support. The case of the Siane (Salisbury 1962) is at once the most meticulously documented and nearest geographically and culturally.²

[Among the Siane] the introduction of the new steel technology raised the potential supply of goods of all kinds, since it set free time that could have been used to make any kind of good.... Time was spent in efforts

¹ Cf. Lane (1961).

² Cf. also Belshaw (1965:20, 27-9, 35-9).

to increase the power of each individual and group... some were efforts to obtain power through the increased use of valuables.... [One result was] inflation in the rate of exchanging power for valuables.... (Salisbury 1962:205)

In other words, Siane applied increased productivity to an existing ('ceremonial' in Salisbury's terms) exchange system in a search for power. I am speculating that something similar happened among the Nasioi, although I suggest that ecological changes developing naturally out of shifting cultivation may have been an important factor. (I do not attempt to assign relative weight to new tools versus changed ecology.) To recapitulate: increased production may have gone into a previously balanced Nasioi exchange system with an 'inflationary' or 'unbalancing' effect. Thus a new degree of differentiation could develop between those individuals who took the option of increasing output in a search for prestige and influence, and those who, for whatever reasons, were content with the option of maintaining previous productive levels in balanced exchange.

The notion that what has here been called 'traditional' Nasioi society represents a stage in increasing social differentiation reconciles informants' stress on ideal reciprocity with their simultaneous exposition of establishing leadership by means of unbalanced prestations. Such thinking would further provide another view of teekira: the destruction of another's property with the rationalisation that such destruction shows group support for him might be a levelling or de-differentiating mechanism.¹ Property destruction at cremation might have a similar, if less direct, effect but teekira could be organised by a mu-group on any number of occasions, 'de-individuating' the victim in favour of his kin connections.

This leads to the second basic point that Nasioi society as recently as between the world wars remained notably undifferentiated. Only the roles of oboring and perhaps 'diviner' might be regarded as functionally specific, albeit in small degree. No matter what aspect of society one chooses as a starting point, one is swiftly and inextricably enmeshed in most, if not all, the other aspects. Is the oboring a

¹ Cf. Smelser (1959:260) for de-differentiation in the context of the Industrial Revolution, and Biggs (1960:48-9) for a similar suggestion among the Maori.

'political' figure? His power both derives from, and is expressed through, the 'economic' factors of production and exchange. 'Economic' success is dependent upon 'religion', as seen in the essential assistance of 'spirits', while 'politics' as social control uses the 'religious' power of sorcery to punish deviance and/or reduce rivalry. But 'religious' factors can hardly be separated from 'kinship' since the 'ghosts' are ancestral, and consideration of 'kinship' leads one back to the 'economy' through mu-group land tenure, exchange at marriage...and so it goes.

Admittedly 'the lines of collectivity [or role, or other social] differentiation seldom if ever correspond exactly to the analytical boundary lines between the economy and other functional sub-systems' (Parsons and Smelser 1956:79, emphasis in original), and succeeding chapters will demonstrate how incomplete is the differentiation in modern Nasioi society. Influences coming from far outside the Aropa Valley have affected the rate and manner of this differentiation, and it is these influences which are considered in the following chapters.

Chapter 3

Christian missions and social change

Although Chapter 2 included speculation that European influence in the form of metal tools might have preceded face-to-face contact with Europeans in the Aropa Valley,¹ this chapter and the following two focus on the effects of direct European contact from 1900 to 1966. Two introductory points should be made explicit. First, much stress is placed on Nasioi attitudes and informants' response to European contact but this exposition should not be interpreted as a statement of my own feelings on the subject; I do not necessarily agree with either Nasioi or European views of the situation. Secondly, I gratefully acknowledge the assistance of several Europeans with experience in Bougainville who have provided me with information for the chapters on European influence, but absolve them from any responsibility for the use I have made of their material.

Historical background

The work of the Christian missions in the Kieta area, and particularly in the Aropa Valley, serves as an appropriate beginning for this examination of European influence because the missionaries' contact with Nasioi was early, continuing, and of a particularly intimate kind.² Yet the effect of the Catholic mission - which is both the longest resident and the one to which the overwhelming majority of Aropa Nasioi adhere - on social differentiation, and especially the differentiation of economic from other activities, has been less than might have been expected.

¹ Cf. Rowley (1965:66).

² Cf. Rowley (1965:133, 155).

Catholic missionaries moved into Bougainville from what are now the British Solomon Islands.¹ The Society of Mary established a station in the Kieta area by 1902 (Frizzi 1914: 7, Parkinson 1907:459). Although at first the people drove them from their base (White 1965:86), they returned and could claim stations at both Kieta and Buin - where they also met an initially hostile reception - before the government established itself at Kieta in 1906 (Rowley 1958:257).

These early Marist representatives seem to have been mostly French in origin (Rowley 1958:256), although Rausch's work testifies to the presence of German priests. It is difficult to reconstruct the nature of the early mission but I have inferred, from the present situation in Bougainville and from comparative material, the following: the primary focus of attack was, of course, the indigenous religion but, whatever the mission position, the Nasioi seem to have interpreted the Gospel as preaching greater efficacy for the Christian pantheon, and the consequent denigration of the ma'naang. Missionaries elsewhere, rather than deny the existence of the traditional spirits, have denounced them as instruments of Satan (Rowley 1965:143); I suspect that the early Marist priests followed the same approach. Therefore baptism of a Nasioi may have involved in the first instance a shift of allegiance from Kopeo and the spirits to God, Christ, the Virgin Mary and the saints. According to Frizzi (1914:8-9), even this shift was not necessary for some Nasioi, as when the 'priest and priestess' (sic) of Kumponi could also attend Mass at Koromira.

Traditional symbols were incorporated in the new allegiance, as in the translation of 'Lord' as oboring, for example Iesu ovorinung paninko ('Jesus, Lord of Heaven'). Veneration of the Virgin as Maria niuko ('Mary, our mother') must have had particular significance in a language which described any prototype as 'the mother of...' - for example, benkeng bauko

¹ I did not have the opportunity to consult Laracy's (1969) invaluable history of the Catholic mission in the Solomon Islands until 1971. It did not seem necessary to rewrite this section to incorporate his material, although he does argue that the Kieta mission was established in 1901 rather than 1902. More important to the present work, Laracy provides abundant historical evidence to support my contention (pp.71-4, 80, 84) that Catholic missionisation permitted traditional Nasioi dependent behaviour to continue, with essentially negative effects on economic change.

('the mother of laughter', that is, 'one who laughs all the time'). Nevertheless, the symbolic nature of this terminology contrasted with traditional belief insofar as the Virgin was clearly not a 'mother' in the sense that a ma'naang with (real or putative) genealogical connection to the worshipper might be.

Beyond the denigration of older supernatural beliefs and the administration of baptism and the other sacraments, however, the first Catholic missionaries seem to have left untouched much of Nasioi life. Perhaps this was a deliberate policy: Catholics elsewhere¹ have been cautious lest by too drastic change they bring social disorganisation along with the Gospel. Certainly the high level of formal education among these continental Marists gave them some intellectual appreciation of indigenous culture, of which Rausch's linguistic work is the best documented but not the only example.²

One area in which the priests did attempt to make changes early in the history of the mission was that of marriage³ and, indeed, any institution relating to human sexual functioning. The attack on cousin marriage has already been mentioned in Chapter 2. Equally abhorrent to the missionaries was polygyny, although I was told by a Kieta priest that the practice ceased only after World War II. Priests also attempted to stamp out divorce, ceremonies at menarche (including scarification), and child betrothal. Finally, traditional nudity or near nudity was made to seem so scandalous as to produce the remarkable physical modesty noted among present-day Nasioi. The total impact of this mission attitude may be symbolised by Nasioi use of the Pidgin term "pekato". Although Mihalic (1957:105) defines the word as 'sin' (in general), to Nasioi today "pekato" means fornication.

While some of the occasions for traditional exchange (especially cremation but also child betrothal, etc.) were under mission ban, there is no evidence that pre-World War II Catholic missionaries attacked such exchange per se. Gifts of food must have been necessary to the success of the early mission, and so long as 'growing-up feasts', for example, had

¹ Cf. Rowley (1965:148).

² Cf. Burridge (1960:19) on the Catholic priests of the Society of the Divine Word (SVD).

³ Cf. Rowley (1965:150).

no clear connection with other practices abhorrent to Catholicism, there would be no pressing reason to disrupt custom in this regard.

Since such European-style primary education as any Nasioi received came from the missions until the 1960s, it is unfortunate that so little is known of early Catholic schools. Only one fact seems certain: the educational operation was small. Rowley (1958:257) writes: 'In January 1911, 250 boys and 60 girls were stated to be receiving "practical" as well as religious tuition, but no details were given. The same report stated that this was one of the two stations which did not teach the German Language.' Given the small size of the mission established, and practice in a village school as late as 1962-64, it would seem likely that until World War II, 'education' consisted for the most part of preparing children for first communion and confirmation, teaching boys to use European tools in semi-skilled tasks, and inculcating some elementary hygiene in both sexes. So far as I was able to learn, no Aropa Valley Nasioi attended school for any appreciable period prior to World War II.

The Seventh Day Adventist mission also came to Bougainville from the Solomon Islands.¹ A station established in the Buin area in 1924 is said to have attracted some young men from the Kieta area. In 1926 a European missionary arrived in Kieta with one of these converts and in 1927 land was purchased at Rumba (in what is now the North Nasioi census division, i.e., not the village in which I lived). From here the mission spread, generally to the north of Kieta; the first village on Buka was entered in 1951. In 1965 there were said to be over fifty SDA mission villages on Bougainville with a total of 2,500 adherents. The Bougainville mission was at that time administered from headquarters in Rabaul.

Last of the major missions to contact the Nasioi was that of the Methodists.² These missionaries, too, came from the Solomon Islands, to work in the Siwai area in 1916. In 1930 a European missionary explored what is now the Kongara census division (a Kongara informant insisted to me that his people

¹ For the historical sketch which follows, I am indebted to Pastor H. Watts, who supplied the information to M.J. Denehy who in turn forwarded it to me.

² The Rev. G.G. Carter, then chairman of the Solomon Islands Methodist District, kindly provided me with this material.

had been out of touch with Europeans from World War I until that time) and established Siwai workers there. Subsequently New Britain missionaries were sent to Nasioi; the first non-Melanesian appointed was a Tongan, who remained at the Roreinang station from 1949 to the time of my fieldwork. He cared for about twenty-two villages, all to the south of Kieta township, with 1,346 adherents as of 30 June 1964.

During World War II most European missionaries of all faiths left Bougainville.¹ Some, including the Catholic bishop, had to escape by night in an American submarine during the Japanese occupation; others were imprisoned or executed. One German priest remained at the Tubiana mission (the station serving Kieta township, south to Mangalim plantation, up through the entire Aropa Valley and into part of the Kongara area) for part of the war, working as a liaison between Japanese troops and the Nasioi. Japanese policy was not apparently to attack Christianity per se, but only its Caucasian representatives.

Missionary work resumed as soon as possible after the Japanese surrendered. The Catholic mission became increasingly staffed by English-speaking personnel (American, Australian, New Zealand and Canadian), although new German priests continue to take up duties there. Educational and medical work expanded: in 1965 Tubiana mission operated schools serving 630 children to standard 5, of whom 317 were on the mission station and the remainder in village schools. In addition, the Marist Brothers operate St Joseph's High School adjoining Tubiana grounds. This is an 'elite' secondary school, training the best male students from Catholic schools throughout the District; in 1965 only 8 of approximately 240 boys were from the South Nasioi census division and none from the four sample villages. A comparable girls' school at Asitavi in the north of the Kieta sub-district was similarly bereft of Aropa Valley Nasioi.

Land has always been cultivated at mission stations to help support their various operations. In addition to food gardens, Tubiana operated a small coconut plantation. In 1964 this operation employed about twenty-five casual labourers - none from the sample villages - at the prevailing wage of 70c per

¹ The effects of World War II on Bougainville are described at greater length in Chapter 5.

day¹ and produced approximately 5½ tons of copra per month. All profits were used to maintain mission work, especially schools, throughout the country. However, the mission continued operating the plantation in order to provide cash employment, even if low prices made the business unprofitable.

To re-establish the context for the Aropa Valley: all of the sample villages are Catholic, parishioners of Tubiana. It is estimated that Catholics outnumber adherents of other faiths in the Valley by about 4 or 5 to 1. Methodists and Seventh Day Adventists are essentially confined to hamlets in the villages of Nasioi and Daratui. Nevertheless, the presence of these two missions has had a considerable impact on the Catholic majority.²

Effects on economic life³

Early in my fieldwork I learned of European stereotypes concerning Nasioi adherents to the respective missions. The general contrast was drawn between SDA and Catholic Nasioi: the former were regarded as 'loyal', 'more like white men', 'industrious', 'progressive' and 'on side'; to the latter were applied all the negative stereotypes which Europeans in New Guinea hold of the indigenous population. Methodist Nasioi were less sharply characterised, but Europeans seemed to regard them as 'better' than the Catholics, if less 'progressive' than the Adventists.

The particular expression of such attitudes varied among European individuals and groups: for example, several Europeans in the Kieta area could say nothing positive about any Nasioi. Catholic missionaries naturally tended to dismiss such comments out of hand; I saw Protestant missionaries too infrequently to learn many of their opinions. Some Europeans connected with the government seemed less positive towards Methodists, while planters could become disenchanted with 'industrious' Adventists on the relatively rare occasions when the latter's strict

¹ Australia (and its territories) converted to decimal currency in 1966. It has been simpler typographically to give all figures in decimals, even though I originally recorded them in pounds, shillings and pence.

² Cf. Hogbin (1958:182), Rowley (1965:156).

³ I am particularly grateful for the assistance provided by A. Thomas Kirsch in considering the problems in this section.

tabu against Saturday work interfered with plantation activities. But in general the non-missionary European¹ stereotype of Nasioi Christians was most favourable towards SDA and least towards Catholics, with Methodists variably regarded between the other two groups.

Catholic Nasioi themselves subscribed to a version of this stereotype insofar as they regarded their SDA neighbours as "olsem Australia", and made scornful remarks about SDA concern with money. Taken at face value, indigenous Catholic comments about Adventists would indicate that violence between the groups was always imminent, but kin connections (e.g., at a funeral) were occasionally seen to override the sectarian divisions.

Certain facts indicate that these stereotypes are not universally applicable. On the issue of 'loyalty', it has been recorded (Long 1963:138) that the most famous 'coastwatcher'² in the Kieta area operated with a band of SDA and Methodist² Nasioi, and was occasionally hampered by Catholics. Catholic Nasioi from Pokpok Island off Kieta served as a 'native Gestapo' for the Japanese. Recent opposition of Catholics to Australian administration, and my own experience with Catholic Nasioi, have been cited in Chapter 1.³ Yet one of the Nasioi most decorated for loyal service to the Allies in World War II is a Catholic; he spoke against the present Administration before the UN Mission in 1962, but subsequently became president

¹ During my fieldwork most Europeans not directly connected with a mission had an essentially secular outlook, so that their own religious beliefs, if any, probably had little effect on these stereotypes.

² The 'coastwatcher', for tactical reasons, operated from a base in the Kongara hills where the Methodists had first entered Nasioi country. The Methodists still had their New Britain pastor, who was active in 'coastwatching' operations (Rev. G.G. Carter: personal communication, 1965).

³ One Administration official emphasised 'anti-colonial' attitudes of American priests as an important factor in this opposition. This seems to me both an oversimplification of a complex situation, and a gross overestimate of the power of an individual priest. Certainly priests outside the Tubiana mission have helped to articulate anti-Administration and anti-Australian attitudes, but I cannot believe they created such opinions.

of the Kieta Local Government Council.¹ Indeed, in 1965 an Administration official noted that the 'strongest' council members were Catholic.

As for economic activity, quantitative data adequate for comparisons are again lacking. A 1964 listing of the biggest planters of cash crop trees in the South Nasioi census division² shows 9 Catholics and 3 Adventists, in an area where Catholics outnumber Adventists by 4 or 5 to 1. Of the Adventists, 2 are Kongara who have been given land for planting by Catholics and the third is a former Catholic converted to Adventism in order to marry. Thus, this datum provides further evidence that sect lines are not always rigidly drawn. Unfortunately for research, one cannot get access to, for example, bank accounts; the different sects as labourers are discussed below.

Despite the lack of 'hard' data, the impression remains that the stereotype has a core of fact, that there are significant differences among the three sects as to 'Europeanisation', especially in connection with changing economic life. This problem is of particular interest, of course, because of Weber's monumental contribution (especially Weber 1958) to the study of religion's effect on economic institutions. Therefore I here attempt a brief examination of the Nasioi case in order to note the kinds of factors, depending upon one's level of analysis, which may be relevant to differences among the Christian groups. For this exploration Weber's work serves primarily as inspiration rather than as a detailed guide, since analysis of a single ethnographic case must perforce use constructs in addition to those ideal types and generalisations employed in his broad comparisons. Further, the levels of analysis I distinguish are obviously not mutually exclusive occurrences in the empirical world.³

¹ See Chapter 5.

² Kindly provided by the then ADO of Kieta sub-district from crop registries, with religious affiliation checked by the (Catholic) vice-president of the Kieta Local Government Council.

³ It should also be noted that my first-hand knowledge of Seventh Day Adventist and Methodist Nasioi is much less detailed than that for the Catholics. My remarks about the former, therefore, are more analytic or logical, proceeding from the empirical material on the Catholic group. I make no attempt to examine one possible factor in the differences

At the most abstract, ideological level, one is closest to Weber in contrasting Catholicism's continuing provision for dependence of adherents with both SDA and Methodist emphasis on the individual's own responsibility (e.g. Weber 1958:104-6, 116-17, 149). As Chapter 2 pointed out, dependence on supernatural forces was basic in traditional Nasioi belief; consequently the significance of this theme in Catholic theology may well have been enhanced in Nasioi minds. Of the three theologies to which Nasioi were exposed, the Catholic represents the least break with traditional Nasioi dependence, and thus might have been most appealing. The hierarchical structures of Catholicism further symbolised this dependence, in contrast to Protestant emphasis on the symbol of 'brotherhood'.

These differences in ideological orientation, moreover, may be expressed as differences in specific practices among the missions. For example, both SDA and Methodist practices reflect equal participation in religion, as these churches directly push their respective adherents into a cash economy by requesting (if not demanding) regular, continuing and substantial cash contributions to the maintenance of the missions. Ideally Adventists tithe. Methodists are exhorted to contribute through their mission newsletter. The contrast here is even commented upon by Catholic Nasioi, who ordinarily are requested to make cash "Sakrifisio" only at Christmas and Easter - the amount solicited in Kongara at Christmas 1966 was 10c per adult - and whose monetary contributions are otherwise obtained in the entertainment context of an annual mission bazaar.

SDA practice also necessitates earning cash in another way. Adventist food tabus - against pig, shell fish, eel, and all wild game - effectively eliminate all 'traditional' meats except chicken from a Nasioi diet. Either the Adventist becomes a vegetarian or he must purchase tinned meat and fish from a tradestore.

On the other hand, Protestant tabus eliminate one item which involves regular cash expenditure for all Catholic Nasioi - tobacco - and a second which means a major expenditure for a few - alcoholic beverages (Ogan 1966a). Methodist

3 (continued)

among the groups: it was once suggested to me by an SDA pastor that the 'progressive' behaviour of his parishioners represented divine intervention in human affairs. Such a consideration goes beyond the scope of this Bulletin.

Nasioi do not seem absolute in their self-denial of the former, but one can see, in the SDA case, an analogy between these tabus on consumption and the forced capital accumulation sometimes regarded as necessary for economic development in simpler societies. By no means incidentally, SDA food tabus alone are sufficient to remove the Adventist from the traditional exchange system.

Catholic practice has obvious negative effect on economic activity in at least two ways: in the first place, the goals of higher Catholic education in Bougainville remain within the Church. Those Nasioi boys who seem most likely to succeed in school are guided to be priests, brothers or teachers (further maintaining a hierarchical structure in the mission). Therefore the most industrious and (probably) intelligent are removed from secular activity.¹ Catholic Nasioi themselves are heard to grumble about this 'wasteful' kind of education.²

Secondly, at least during 1962-64, absolute cessation of work, and attendance at divine services were enjoined for all holy days of obligation. One need not imagine industrious Nasioi thus kept from the jobs they eagerly sought to appreciate the disadvantages this practice created in the wage labour market.

A further level of analysis in considering the differences among the Christian groups is that of personality. Here it would seem that the history of the missions is relevant: SDA Nasioi represent 'converts' in that they became adherents of that faith only after a quarter-century's exposure to Catholicism. (Whether each Adventist had been in fact at one time a baptised and practising Catholic is unimportant. It is the context of a decision for the new mission against a background of the old which must be considered.) Obviously the personalities of converts are likely to be different from those which are modally represented in the group from which the convert is drawn.³ A reasonable assumption in the Nasioi case is that 'converts' to Adventism were more independent and aggressive

¹ Cf. Weber (1958:120-1).

² However, the Tubiana parish has yet to produce enough teachers to staff its own schools. Teachers must be imported from as far away as Buka or Siwai for the mission and, occasionally, village schools.

³ Cf. Lewis (1964:82), Rowley (1965:156).

than their fellows. Thus one might say that, in terms of personality, Adventists represent a 'biased sample' drawn from the total Nasioi population, not necessarily because of Adventist theology or even practice, but because of the mission's chronological novelty in the Kieta area.

But personality variables operate in another way, after such a decision is made. Psychologists have referred to this situation as 'cognitive dissonance' (Festinger 1957). For present purposes, one can simply state that having made a decision to become an Adventist, in contrast to the majority of his fellows, a Nasioi must continue proving to himself that the decision was correct. One possible course which Adventism seems to have stressed is to identify with and emulate in secular ways the dominant European group. In this manner, the individual Adventist reduces any psychological discomfort by achieving the social support¹ of a more powerful body - even though this social support is not based on the European's regard for Adventism per se.

To the extent that these personality conditions help to 'explain' the perceived differences between SDA and Catholic Nasioi, the same considerations may make intelligible the less clearly defined position of the Methodists, who seem to have been exposed to that faith shortly before the Catholic mission 'rediscovered' the Kongara area where Methodism is now strongest. In other words, the personality factors involved in 'conversion' would not have operated among the Methodists as among the SDA.

Finally, in examining the Nasioi case, even physiological factors may be briefly noted. The well-known deleterious effects of alcohol and tobacco on health and, ultimately, work potential are likely to play a role in differential economic performance among the groups. I do not know of any comparable scientific work on betel chewing, but Catholic Nasioi themselves say they sometimes become nauseated from

¹ This manner of social support to reduce 'cognitive dissonance' is not specifically described by Festinger, but is congruent with his work. Catholic Nasioi might be said to reduce their own 'dissonance', produced by Adventists in their midst, by stressing the difference between themselves and SDA as cited above on stereotypes (cf. Festinger 1957: 182-3). Scrupulous observance by SDA of their own tabus would reduce the 'dissonance' in the same way.

overindulgence. Thus the tabus of Adventism and, to a lesser extent, Methodism may operate to make those Nasioi physically more capable of economic endeavour than the Catholic villager who suffers no mission ban on alcohol, betel or tobacco.

The foregoing demonstrates the levels of analysis which may be considered in a specific ethnographic example of the differential effects of religion upon economic endeavour, in addition to the broad value orientations which were Weber's concern in his historical comparisons. All these levels make more intelligible the stereotypes of Christian Nasioi and the core of factual differences among the different sects which the stereotypes reflect. However significant this examination, it represents a slight digression from the main point, which must be recapitulated here.

The influence of the Catholic mission in the Aropa Valley operated to differentiate the religious from the kinship sub-systems. Despite the use of traditional kin symbols already cited, the Christian pantheon must be viewed as a distinctively religious system removed from the worshippers in a way that ancestral spirits were not. This differentiation of a cultural from a social sub-system (Parsons 1966:24) is reflected in other contexts; for example, the use of the religious calendar and even the exhibition of Christian symbolism in symptoms of mental illness.¹

But, on the other hand, the structural unity of religion and economy has not been changed in the same way. Dependence on supernatural assistance remains a basic mode of behaviour for most Aropa Nasioi. To this extent, the Christian pantheon may be regarded as a functional substitute for ancestral spirits.

Other mission activities which effect some slight differentiation of economy, likely to increase sharply in the next few years, include Catholic education. The spread of village schools will help to remove the function of socialisation from a kinship context, in which case the kind of dependence fostered in the Nasioi family (Ogan n.d.) may begin to break down. Also, the few changes that mission activity wrought in the exchange system (e.g., by barring cremation) have - in addition to secularising events which previously had more religious significance - created new options in the use of property which can be expected to facilitate, in turn, the development of entrepreneurial roles.

¹ Cf. Scheffler (1965a:31).

Furthermore, in passing consideration of the future one must note that the mission itself is not monolithic or unchanging. Even during 1962-64 individual priests might create some contrasts in their respective parishes. In the Bougainville District as a whole at that time, there was a priest who was directing a plan of economic development (including a massive land redistribution scheme) as well as a priest whose mission seemed a paraphrase of Gerald Brennan's description of the older Spanish clergy - discouraging sexual relations, spreading discomfort to Protestants, and enforcing regular attendance at divine services. The recent outspoken role of the Catholic mission in connection with Nasioi mining rights¹ suggests that more attention will be given to secular problems in the future. Nevertheless, structural differentiation, especially that affecting the economy as a separate sub-system, will probably continue to operate most notably outside mission influence.

¹ See p.67.

Chapter 4

Commercial interests

Contact between mission and New Guineans or between government and New Guineans has been described for many parts of Papua New Guinea. Burridge (1960:20-4) has even characterised these three interest groups as 'the triangle'. But, although Rowley (1965:107) has pointed out the importance of employment in the contact situation, social scientists have not yet¹ given commercial institutions the attention they deserve. Such institutions are especially important in Bougainville because of the financial and political resources they now command.

Plantations²

The first missionaries were soon followed by men with more worldly interests in the natural and human resources of Bougainville. The German government made all land purchases from indigenes and, in turn, sold or leased land to those Europeans or Asians who wished to use it (Rowley 1958:88). Apparently purchasers came almost on the heels of the officials who established the government station in Kieta: German interests bought Mangalim plantation,³ by far the largest in the Kieta sub-district, and began planting in 1908. The first overseers of Mangalim seem to have experimented with a number of crops, but the only early planting to prove profitable in the long run, other than the coconut, was rubber.

¹ Researchers from the Australian National University are filling this gap in New Guinea studies.

² I am grateful to Messrs W.A.L. Clarke, H. Kroening, R.S. McKay and G.D. Straughen for providing historical and technical information for this section.

³ Plantations and store-keepers mentioned in this chapter have been given pseudonyms.

Other individuals or firms were active along the entire east coast of the island before World War II. Many of the new plantations were the property of British companies which had moved into Bougainville from the Solomons, but Angkarim plantation was established in about 1912 by an enterprising woman whose descendants operated it throughout the 1960s. Both Angkarim and Mangalim were purchased from the German administration as freehold.

Labour was available locally to work on the new plantations but, even in the early days, management found it expedient to supplement Nasioi, Rorovana and Torau living on the coast with labour from the Bismarck Archipelago¹ or the British Solomons. These immigrant workers were usually more experienced and were therefore put in supervisory, "bosboi" positions over the locals. Presumably the immigrants had some sort of contractual arrangement but it is not certain whether all locals were casual labour. What does seem certain is the stern discipline enforced by German overseers, relying heavily on corporal punishment (caning or flogging) for a wide variety of offences.

While World War I changed ultimate possession of the entire island, the immediate effects in Bougainville do not seem to have been profound. Plantations owned by British subjects, such as Angkarim, were unaffected but German-owned properties like Mangalim were expropriated for subsequent sale to Australians. Nevertheless, some German nationals remained in commercial capacities (including the former Kieta District Officer who had earlier married the Angkarim heiress) and helped to maintain many pre-war attitudes toward indigenous labour.²

Rowley (1958:93-4) notes that 'The German administration had...alienated a great deal more land suitable for plantations than had actually been planted' and this was especially true of the thousands of acres which constituted Mangalim. In addition to labour problems, fluctuating copra prices between the world wars did not always encourage expansion.³ Between the wars Angkarim and Mangalim, the two plantations most familiar to Aropa Valley Nasioi, were essentially one-crop copra operations.⁴ Most of the unskilled labour employed

¹ Cf. Rowley (1958:110).

² Cf. Mair (1948:14), Rowley (1958:10-11).

³ Cf. Oliver (1961:122, 191-4). ⁴ Cf. Mair (1948:99).

was local to the Kieta-Aropa area, including several men now in their fifties or older from the sample villages. This labour provided some cash income, although it seems likely that most wages were either taken in the form of, or quickly exchanged for, tradestore goods.¹ Certainly the amount of cash received as wages was relatively small, perhaps six shillings per month.

Like most Europeans, plantation personnel - except for some 'coastwatchers' from plantations other than the two mentioned - left Bougainville during World War II. When they returned (Mangalim was taken over after the war by an extraordinarily vigorous Australian entrepreneur), they were faced with a tremendous task of clearing vegetation which had overgrown the land. At the same time, managers found that locals were no longer reliable employees. After a year or so of unsatisfactory labour lines, both plantations began employing contract labour from the main island of New Guinea, chiefly from the Sepik River area although the workers were commonly called 'Chimbu' or 'redskins' by the Nasioi.

Another factor in the switch to contract labour was the addition of cocoa in post-war years. While the production of copra is a year-round activity, requiring only a steady routine - cutting grass around the trees, picking up nuts, splitting them and putting the meat in a drier, and hauling the bags of copra to a shipping point - cocoa beans ripen in a 'flush' and must immediately be gathered for fermenting and drying. At the time of the 'flush', labour must be available for these tasks, and a planter could no longer take the chance that his casual local labour line might decide to walk off to a feast or holy day celebration at just that time.

Cocoa, especially well-suited to rich, well-watered Bougainville soil and planted relatively early by farsighted Bougainville planters, further transformed plantations by the lush financial rewards produced. Until 1962 the margin between the price of a ton of cocoa and the routine cost² of its production remained well in excess of 100 per cent. Plantations like Mangalim and Angkarim, with well-established copra

¹ Cf. Rowley (1958:154-5).

² If all capital investment was amortised in calculating profit margins on cocoa, the figure would, of course, be smaller but nonetheless very impressive for any sort of agricultural enterprise.

operations, were in a particularly satisfactory position. Planters in Bougainville and elsewhere sometimes explained the situation in this way: 'Copra pays all my overhead so that everything I take in on cocoa is gravy.' Mangalim also had a small but viable rubber operation, based on the German plantings. Angkarim further expanded into stevedoring for Kieta and, in 1962, construction and operation of the only hotel in Bougainville District. Thus the two plantations most familiar to Aropa Nasioi began to enjoy notable prosperity in the 1950s, at the same time as contact between the plantations and the villagers became more tenuous.

While the former master-labourer relationship between these two plantations and the Aropa Nasioi had, for all practical purposes, ceased, the two groups interacted in the sale of trade copra and, later, wet cocoa beans. The post-war operation of the Copra Marketing Board, with its fixed price followed annually by a rebate for copra sold under its auspices,¹ makes dealing in indigenous smoke-dried copra an interesting and, occasionally, very profitable speculation for a planter who already has transport and other marketing facilities at his disposal. Similarly, once cocoa processing machinery has been set up on a plantation, it is to the planter's advantage to keep the machinery in operation. Mangalim (and possibly Angkarim) assisted Nasioi, including some in the Valley, to begin planting cocoa and by the beginning of my fieldwork Mangalim was buying wet cocoa beans in the Valley and elsewhere.

(Mangalim established a small tradestore in the main hamlet of Siromba, managed by a young Nasioi with about a standard 6 education who was the son of the "kukerai", himself an oboring and Nasioi-style 'chiropracter'. Mangalim crop purchases in the Valley usually took place at the tradestore, conveniently located on the Valley Road.)

Many acres of Mangalim had never been cleared. The considerable profits from cocoa production possible within five or six years, together with increased availability of loans for developing New Guinea properties,² made it possible for three new plantations to be carved from Mangalim. Two of these, here called Bikmoning and Kavivi, lay on or near the

¹ See Handbook of Papua and New Guinea (1969:172-6).

² A government scheme provided loans of \$50,000 over a five-year period to qualified returned servicemen.

Valley Road, in areas that local Nasioi, especially those from Rumba, insisted belonged to them. (The third new plantation, here called Limlimbur, is located near Roreinang Methodist mission station, and does not directly affect Aropa Valley Nasioi.) A legal action, completed before I began fieldwork, confirmed Mangalim's boundaries. In 1963 the Kavivi area was surveyed with a patrol officer and villagers in attendance. Nasioi maintained to me (albeit with little apparent conviction) that the boundaries had been moved from "German taim" but the government survey stated that the original cement markers were still visible.

Bikmoning was purchased with private finance by an overseer employed by the large and prosperous Ovarim plantation in the North Nasioi census division.¹ Unable to direct operations himself, he established on the property an SDA "bosboi" from the Ovarim area, whose zeal was the subject of unfavourable comment by the easy-going Catholic Nasioi he sometimes employed. The majority of the labour line was from the SDA settlement in Daratui village. Under the industrious direction of the "bosboi", part of the Bikmoning tract was soon cleared and planted in cocoa. By 1966 a small fermentary was in operation; at the same time additional parts of the tract were being cleared for planting. Bikmoning also purchased wet cocoa beans and, occasionally, trade copra.

The Australian who purchased the Kavivi tract with a returned serviceman's loan followed a different strategy, clearing and planting cocoa on the entire property as quickly as his resources permitted. He directly supervised the entire operation, beginning with the felling of the primary forest which covered much of the land. His labour line varied in size but was more or less equally divided between Catholics from Bakatung, Sirambana and, occasionally, Rumba, and SDA from Daratui, led by the "tultul" of that village. The owner found the SDA group more reliable and, as household servants, more honest.

Kavivi's owner was also remarkable in that he had an explicitly formulated plan of development, shaped roughly by reports of paternalistic plantations in Malaysia. He attempted to instruct his labour line, not only in the

¹ Ovarim is unusual in that the plantation operated with local labour until 1964; as noted on p.70, a kind of paternalism seems to be reflected in the employment of certain families over generations.

techniques necessary for plantation work, but in values and processes involved in European capitalism (e.g., 'time is money'). He instituted cash bonuses for long service and superior performance. He assisted his SDA workers when they wished to put money in savings schemes as far away as Australia. By almost any standard, Kavivi's owner was a 'progressive planter'; even Catholic Nasioi would grudgingly admit that he was a "gutpela masta" in comparison with the owner of Mangalim. Nevertheless Kavivi's owner did not feel he could carry out an earlier notion of relying solely on local labour and in 1967 he imported his first contract workers.

In 1962 the prevailing wage for casual labour was 70c per day and was paid by both Bikmoning and Kavivi; by 1964 the rate had increased to 80c per day. Kavivi's "bosboi" - one SDA and one Catholic - were receiving \$1 in 1964; the owner of Bikmoning did not provide information on his "bosboi" who, in any event, had a house on the property and presumably received other perquisites in addition to salary. Kavivi's 'incentive' plan has already been cited; Bikmoning's owner provided gifts of food (rice and tinned fish) to his labour line at Christmas.

In 1964 Mangalim was sold for an impressive sum to a syndicate including representatives from Ovarim plantation. The syndicate, known as the New Guinea Biological Foundation, announced in a press release plans to 'explore the possibilities of assisting mankind, by research into the potentialities of the wet tropical zone to provide food, buildings and other human requirements'. As late as 1967 the Foundation's new operations remained largely programmatic, except that the area of Mangalim from the beach to Bikmoning and Kavivi was being cleared for planting. Mangalim's production continued as before, under new management. Perhaps the most notable aspect of the Foundation's takeover was the departure from Bougainville of Mangalim's former owner, a man widely known in Papua New Guinea.

Retail trade

The tradestore operations of Mangalim plantation have already been noted. Probably such plantation stores were more common before World War II; Ovarim still operated a store while Bikmoning and Kavivi tried but abandoned tradestores as unprofitable. Without attempting a history of retail trade in Kieta,¹ one may note that Chinese entrepreneurs had

¹ Cf. Rowley (1958:72-86).

established such businesses before World War II and have remained the major retail outlets to the end of the 1960s. The stores provided daily necessities to the European community but such items as household goods, machinery and fresh meats were ordered from Rabaul, Port Moresby or Australia.¹

During my fieldwork six Chinese tradestores were located in a small 'Chinatown' some distance from the government buildings, the hotel and other European residences. (The Kieta overseas wharf, still under construction in 1967, is located at the end of Chinatown farthest from the town centre.) Although each of these stores attracted some trade from Nasioi and Europeans - one store housed the only baker in Kieta - only three need be considered at any length here.

The owners of the two largest stores, at least in terms of European trade and effect on Valley Nasioi, are here called Wo Fat and Lit Lau. Wo Fat was a well-known resident who first came to the islands as a cook for the Germans, and whose interests included coastal shipping and plantations as well as stores at Kieta and Buka. His Kieta store has been managed in recent years by one or other of his young sons. Lit Lau was a much younger man, a naturalised Australian citizen, whose headquarters was the Kieta store which he operated with his wife and occasional assistance from other Chinese.

The third store of interest in the present context is that of Moo Tang. Sam Moo Tang was a young man whose mother was a Nasioi from the area north of Kieta township. His Chinese father provided him with a European education and he had a good command of English, Nasioi, Pidgin and one of the Chinese dialects. He was also on terms of personal friendship with a number of young Nasioi men and chose as his wife a relatively well-educated Nasioi girl. In addition to the store, he had a coconut plantation in his mother's home area.

While each of these stores had its distinctive features, all shared a 'country store' atmosphere and manner of operation. Both European and Nasioi customers made shopping a

¹ In 1964 an Australian employee of Ovarim entered into partnership with a Rabaul businessman and established himself as petrol dealer, trucker, tradestore operator, and dealer in trade copra. As far as the Nasioi are concerned, his operation was chiefly noteworthy for his attempt to provide higher quality luxury merchandise than that found in Chinatown.

social or entertainment event, and service was most charitably described as 'casual'. However, this pattern ('particularistic' in Parsonian terms; cf. Belshaw 1965:114) consistently deferred to European trade - as might be expected in terms of that group's greater purchasing power. Europeans were always served first, even if a Nasioi had been waiting to make a purchase; Wo Fat's youngest son typically greeted any male Nasioi customer with "Wanem f _____ samting yu laik?" Wo Fat and Lit Lau tended to charge Nasioi higher prices in that total charges were 'rounded up' to the nearest convenient monetary unit for Nasioi but 'rounded down' for Europeans. (I do not have sufficient data to apply this statement to Moo Tang.) Nasioi were aware of discrimination in pricing. Similarly any European newly arrived in Kieta could quickly establish credit, whereas only a few Nasioi were able to do so.¹ On the other hand, managers of all these stores tolerated Nasioi practices ranging from spitting on the floor to shoplifting (culprits, caught in the act and property recovered, were seldom turned over to the police). When, as in the case of Wo Fat's penultimate son, verbal abuse was delivered in a patent good humour, Nasioi seemed to be entertained by it.

All three stores dealt with trade copra² and were licensed to deal in shells, although such trade was negligible during 1962-64. None of them employed Aropa Valley Nasioi in the stores, preferring Rorovanas, immigrant Nagovisi or coastal Nasioi when hiring Bougainville labour.

A final point in common: the young men in all three stores were identified as Catholics, although their observances of the ritual duties varied. Lit Lau had a close relationship with an American priest at Tubiana until the latter departed in 1964, and helped him particularly in maintaining the mission vehicle.

Moo Tang's store differed in having less European trade than the other two, and in his closer relationship with individual Nasioi. Several men from Rumba worked on Moo Tang's coconut plantation at various times, and Valley youths sometimes borrowed (and repaid!) small sums from him, or obtained

¹ See Chapter 8. Furthermore, the government discourages any effort by retail traders to bind New Guineans to them in a credit relationship which might permit such exploitation as ensuring a monopoly on trade copra.

² See Chapter 8.

his assistance in making special purchases. For some Nasioi youths, at least, Sam himself was a symbolic 'friend in the enemy camp' and they apparently derived some psychological comfort from reminding themselves of his Nasioi ancestry. However, they never thought of him as 'one of us'; nor, apparently, did Sam.

Other enterprises

An Australian obtained timber rights to uncleared portions of Mangalim plantation in about 1960 and, with an associate, established a sawmill in the Aropa Valley a little more than an hour's walk from Rumba. The mill operated until 1964 with a core crew of Papuans performing such skilled tasks as driving trucks or heavy equipment, and a Nasioi casual labour line of varying size. The former lived on the mill premises; the management lived in Kieta. During 1962-64 casual wages rose from 70c to 80c per day; a five-day work week was typical. Demand for lumber regularly exceeded the supply which could be produced under the difficult conditions - especially involving mechanical failures - and lumber was both sold locally and shipped to other parts of Papua New Guinea.

Until Bikmoning and Kavivi began operations, the sawmill represented the market for casual wage labour closest to Valley villages. Furthermore, work around sawmill machinery, while somewhat dangerous, appeared more attractive¹ than the tedium of plantation work. Several Valley men worked at the sawmill at one time or another, and one Rumba man was employed for about three years.

However, otherwise appealing employment was spoiled for the Nasioi by the irascibility - remarked as exceptional even by most Europeans - of the original owner. His steady stream of verbal abuse occasionally enraged a Nasioi to the point at which the latter threatened the owner with violence. At this juncture, the second in command would have to re-establish order by knocking the Nasioi down, thus terminating the latter's employment. Nor were any incentives offered to employees: the long-term Rumba worker - a strong, industrious and obedient labourer - finally quit when he received no wage increase to set him above newly hired labour.

¹ Such prestige considerations as being able to identify with Europeans who operate machinery certainly enhanced this attractiveness, although their effect can only be roughly estimated.

In 1964 the sawmill was sold to a Rabaul businessman and went through a series of management changes. By 1966 management was in the hands of an Australian sawyer as jovial as the original owner had been irritable. Papuans - a few recently hired but several who have been with the mill from its inception - still handled the more skilled jobs and the casual labour line included Siromba and Rumba villagers.¹

Operations of the mining firm now known as Bougainville Copper must be briefly considered in this section, although to do so admittedly distorts the present situation in Bougainville. Bougainville Copper, which began exploring for copper and other minerals in 1964, is potentially a force, not simply for changing Nasioi economics, but for destroying any continuity between Nasioi life in the future and that in the past. Nevertheless, most of this power has yet to be realised, and the effects on the Aropa Valley remained few and indirect as of mid-1967.

Bougainville Copper began exploration in the Guava census division and, after initial co-operation, in August 1964 was met with objections by the villagers. However, under the New Guinea Mining Ordinance 1922, all mineral rights are vested, not in the land-holders, but in the state. Consequently, after conferences and 'explanations' to the Guava people, Bougainville Copper continued with official approval. Drilling began in November 1964, and continued despite incidents of Nasioi opposition. By 1966 opposition had grown to such an extent that potential for violence existed, and a police detachment remained on permanent duty in the Guava area. An amendment to the present mining ordinance - introduced by the indigenous Member of the House of Assembly for Bougainville and vigorously supported by pronouncements from the Catholic mission - was passed in 1966, so Nasioi land-holders are guaranteed a small royalty as compensation for the destruction of their traditional way of life.

But in mid-1967 the Aropa Valley Nasioi were affected in only two basic ways. First, a few younger men - two from Rumba, one from Siromba - were employed as domestic help in the laundry and kitchen at Bougainville Copper headquarters near Ovarim plantation. Wages were about \$6 per week, or

¹ One of the latter had his leg broken by a piece of falling equipment in 1966, but the incident caused no resignations among his fellows.

about 150 per cent of casual labour rates, and there were a number of perquisites - most notably the opportunity to buy such luxury items as watches at prices lower than those in Chinatown. This new kind of work experience further removed young men from a traditional life, setting them apart from their parents and older associates. Secondly, those Valley Nasioi who felt threatened by Europeans generally became even more worried with Bougainville Copper's arrival on Bougainville. Many European observers would say that these worries were perfectly justified - more so than were Nasioi reactions to plantations.¹

Other European commercial interests had but peripheral effect on the Valley. Only a few older men (two of those living in Rumba today) worked for Europeans outside the Kieta area, either on German plantations or as labour on coastal shipping vessels. The "tultul" of Siromba worked in the New Guinea gold fields as well as for the family which owns Angkarim. A few younger men were employed at one time or another as domestic servants by Europeans in Kieta, or at the hotel.²

Effects on economic life

While all the European and Chinese commercial activities described above affected Nasioi life, the most important to the Aropa Valley people over the sixty years to 1966 was the plantation. Consequently, in this section, I shall examine the plantation with the understanding that the same factors here explored are relevant in some degree to other forms of business.³

Obviously European plantations helped to differentiate Nasioi society by separating wage labour from subsistence activities - in Nasioi-Pidgin terms, uaka from mintong. This distinction had effects at a number of levels, extending down to the subtleties of work rhythm and the imposition with varying success of new views of time ("belo", "belo bek"; week/work days versus Saturday and Sunday). Wage labour was

¹ However, the particulars of recent Valley reaction to Bougainville Copper cannot be described here; see Momis and Ogan (1971).

² More extra-village experience has come through government activity, see Chapter 5.

³ Tradestores and recent Nasioi economic endeavours are also discussed in Chapters 6 and 7.

removed from a kinship context. At the same time, immigrant labourers came in contact with Nasioi, complicating social organisation and sometimes marrying Nasioi women. There were four such cases in Rumba (two Nagovisi, one Siwai and one Banoni) as well as a Siwai bachelor also resident.

Further, this new uaka was carried out in a secular atmosphere, which included neither altars nor sacrifices of food. It is unlikely that Nasioi ever confused with prayer those heated addresses by overseers to the Christian pantheon whenever a labourer made a mistake. In other words, not only was wage labour different from traditional tasks in its social organisation, its rhythms and its rewards, but even in its epistemic foundation.

Yet if one is to clarify such an important pragmatic point as the inability of modern Europeans to deal with Nasioi in an economic context, a more appropriate emphasis might be the degree to which the operation of plantations and tradestores did not make the distinctions Europeans themselves assumed were made. For while Europeans today have an image of their activities as perfectly rational¹ and in accordance with laissez-faire capitalism, such is clearly not the case.² As Belshaw (1965:114) notes, the difference between universalistic and particularist patterns in business is a matter of emphasis, and it may be worthwhile to estimate more carefully the degree actually present in the Bougainville situation.

Rowley (1965:107, 114-15) has emphasised the fact that the management of New Guinea plantations generally has little in common with the calculated operations of modern European industry. A more positive view of such management would note that copra and cocoa production are themselves industries notably undifferentiated in the division of labour. The only specialised tasks required are those of mechanic and carpenter and, indeed, these specialists are always in short supply in Papua New Guinea. Otherwise plantation management's chief requirement is regular supervision of unskilled labour in simple tasks. These circumstances have two major consequences for the Nasioi: plantation employment provides them with no special skills, while it is likely to expose them to European

¹ Cf. Weber (1958:17-19, 21-2, 25-6).

² For a discussion of this point in the context of racialism, see Mannoni (1964:203).

management whose great strength is purely authoritarian.¹ The other side of this authoritarian aspect of plantation management is the sort of kindly paternalism which would seem to permit the continuation, albeit with some important differences, of traditional Nasioi dependence.

In this authoritarian-paternalist context, there are perceptible differences between pre- and post-World War II management which provide an interesting parallel to Bendix' (1965) examination of industrial management in Western Europe. Pre-war plantation management operated with an ideology, conscious or not, of dependence like that in pre-industrial England: the labourers were

children, who must be governed, who should not be allowed to think for themselves, who must perform their assigned tasks obediently and with alacrity, who must show deference to their superiors, and who - if they conduct themselves virtuously - will be protected by their betters against the vicissitudes of life. (Bendix 1965:27)

This attitude, of course, would have been congruent with a traditional Nasioi world-view which emphasised dependence on more powerful beings for all the good things in life. A propensity to receive wages in the form of goods illustrates such dependence in the plantation situation.

Obviously individual managers might vary this viewpoint in specific ways, particularly in the degree to which they felt constrained to protect workers 'against the vicissitudes of life'. However, pre-war Angkarim seems to have operated in much this way, and perhaps the long-term associations of Nasioi with Ovarim relate to a dependence relationship established with earlier management of that plantation. Certainly many old New Guinea plantation personnel still explicitly subscribe to this outlook, and such practices as Bikmoning's Christmas gifts of food exemplified it in 1966.

But more frequently heard today - and probably present in the past, perhaps even held simultaneously with the 'theory of dependence' by some managers - is the attitude associated by Bendix (1965:27) with *laissez-faire*: that by abstinence and exertion the New Guinean can and should improve his own lot. This attitude is congruent with the modern planter's

¹ Cf. Mair (1948:17), Rowley (1965:108).

image of himself as victor in the struggle for existence by virtue of his individual effort - such forms of assistance as \$50,000 government loans are not mentioned by these Europeans. This self-image is so deeply held that planters find it impossible to understand that Nasioi do not perceive them in this fashion and, therefore, cannot absorb the lessons of thrift and industry which planters believe they embody in their own persons.

It is not that plantation personnel are never industrious - although every planter can regale the visitor with stories indicating that most Europeans in whatever occupation in Papua New Guinea, except the speaker, are completely indolent - but that Nasioi have so little opportunity to observe and to understand their efforts. For example, only two or three score ever saw Kavivi's owner working to carve his plantation out of the bush. Like the best-educated household slaves on American plantations in the antebellum South, it is 'easier for them to observe the processes of consumption than those of production and marketing' (Glazer and Moynihan 1964:32). These observations provide abundant evidence for, for example, a common Nasioi belief that drinking alcoholic beverages is as essential to the status and material well-being enjoyed by Europeans as any specialised management skill (Ogan 1966a).

The laissez-faire ideology of Bougainville planters today leads to increased emphasis on discipline to rationalise production.¹ As Smelser (1959:105-7) pointed out for England in the Industrial Revolution, increased discipline may take either a harsh or a humanitarian-educational form; the approach of Kavivi's owner exemplified the latter.

Unfortunately for European-Nasioi relations, efforts toward increased discipline in plantation operations came at a time when younger Nasioi, in particular, were developing hostility towards all forms of European domination. In Bendix' terms (1965:30-1), they were undergoing a crisis of aspirations,² rebelling against subordination as traditionally defined in terms of dependence, without yet understanding the possibility of subordination in a contractual, employer-employee relationship. For these younger Nasioi, their

¹ There is also a technological parallel with the more stringent requirements of cocoa production, see p.60.

² I have elsewhere examined (Ogan n.d.) the hostility of Nasioi youth in the context of feelings of inferiority. There is no conflict between Bendix' and Mannoni's constructs.

relationship to plantations and to Mangalim in particular, was 'confined to envious eyes looking over land that once was theirs, to the possibility of employment at rates of pay they often scorn, and possibly to purchases from trade stores at prices they suspect' (Bettison 1966:240).

To summarise: European commercial interests, particularly plantations, helped to differentiate wage labour from traditional subsistence activities, to secularise such economic effort, and to remove it from traditional kin contexts. Yet these interests themselves operated in particularistic fashion, typically vis-a-vis the Nasioi in the form of paternalism whether in authoritarian or humanitarian aspects. Low wages and the ready opportunity to transform wages into consumer goods served to de-emphasise money as a prime factor in further differentiating the economy as a sub-system. Plantation operations, themselves relatively undifferentiated, did not provide a basis enabling Nasioi to appreciate distinctions between production and consumption; those aspects of the planter's life most readily observed by Nasioi emphasised consumption. But at the very time when management was becoming more rational or universalistic in its approach to the economy, Nasioi had begun to rebel against older patterns of economic subordination without ever having had the opportunity to learn new, contractual patterns of relations to Europeans in the economy.

Chapter 5

The role of European administration

Two observations should preface this discussion of the effect of European administration on the Aropa Valley Nasioi. First, the apparent failures of German or Australian administration cited below cannot be construed as a necessary condemnation of any individual civil servant. Like any other group of people, the ranks of administration employees include the dedicated and intelligent as well as the indolent and stupid. Government at any level is faced with less than perfect knowledge of a situation, with frequently inadequate resources and occasionally conflicting purposes set either by higher authority or the voting public. Secondly, most of the shortcomings perceived in the Bougainville situation have been noted for New Guinea as a whole by Australian and English observers, some of whom are here cited. Material from other colonial situations has also proved to be comparable.

Pacification and political development

The pugnacity of the people around Kieta has already been mentioned in connection with the first missionaries. Warlike activity continued on Bougainville during the first year after the German headquarters had been established at Kieta, necessitating seven punitive expeditions (White 1965:87). However, it would appear likely that these fierce inhabitants of Bougainville were Austronesian speakers (Rowley 1958:198) or those non-Austronesians, like the Buin (Rowley 1958:194), who had been most influenced by them, and that the Nasioi strategy was always one of evading the European government where possible.

To avoid Europeans in the Valley was not too difficult since patrolling was limited by available personnel and coastal shipping. Thus, while German officialdom with police (probably from the Bismarck Archipelago) did make forays inland, the interior of Bougainville remained uncontrolled when

the Australians took over in 1914 (Rowley 1958:10, 34-5).¹ As noted earlier, the Australian administration did not penetrate so far into the mountains for over fifteen years.

Rowley (1958:10-11, 21, 192) has made a detailed criticism that the early Australian administration in New Guinea simply continued German policies, so no detailed distinction between the two need be drawn here. The Australians continued to operate from Kieta as district headquarters. The system of "tultul" and "kukerai" was maintained, as were the institutions of head tax and statutory forced labour.

I have already noted in Chapter 2 evidence that the appointed village officials in the sample villages were men of some status in their own right, but Rowley (1958:218) reports the problem of gaining respect for these officials around Kieta in 1907. While one may agree with Rowley that 'the status and prestige of this village officialdom was no doubt as hard to estimate then as it is today' (Rowley 1958:231), it may also be suggested that a "kukerai's" apparent lack of prestige might rather have been an excuse for frustrating an official directive repugnant to the village. For in the 1960s and, according to informants, in the past, a "tultul's" or "kukerai's" success in the Valley was measured by the infrequency with which he attracted the attention of the "kiap" (patrol officer) or higher administrative authority.

A village official might shelter his charges by providing excuses for their failure to pay head tax or to perform tasks assigned by the "kiap". The former obligation generally gave way to the latter during the early years of European contact. In 1909, when the tax was five or seven marks, fourteen days of compulsory labour in lieu of tax was made necessary for the Kieta area since opportunities to earn cash were more limited there than in, for example, New Ireland (Rowley 1958:174).

The forced labour imposed by the Australian administration generally took the form of improving roads and paths. However, in the 1920s the areas around district headquarters, including the nearby islets of Tausina and Pig Island, were planted with coconuts under administration orders by indigenous labour - presumably working in lieu of tax payment.

¹ The Kongara still tell the story of a German punitive expedition (they are not clear about the delict leading to punishment) which burned down a village, killing a child who had failed to hide in the bush with the rest of the populace.

Improvement of roads facilitated patrolling and by 1936 all of Bougainville except for small areas in the centre and along the west coast were under control (Mair 1948:39). At the same time settlement patterns were being consolidated at government order,¹ further extending effective administration. Nevertheless, contact between the "kiap" and the village remained on a patrolling basis and probably suffered from insufficient staff subject to frequent transfer.²

No one can be certain what political changes might have taken place in Bougainville had not World War II intervened. The Japanese moved swiftly and by the middle of March 1942 had occupied key points on Buka and Bougainville (White 1965: 124). Most of the Europeans fled from the Kieta area just in advance of or during the Japanese occupation, and this flight of the "masta" may have had a more profound effect on the Nasioi than any other feature of World War II.

As Mair (1948:198-9) points out:

Cases are cited to prove the loyalty of the New Guinea native, or his treachery, according to the interest of the speaker. In fact it merely obscures the issue to interpret actions in either category as though one were judging a nation of persons aware of the war as presenting a choice which could not be evaded.

Some aspects of Nasioi pro- or anti-Allied behaviour have already been cited, but the guerillas who aided the Australian 'coastwatcher' and the so-called 'Black Dogs of Pokpok' who formed an auxiliary force of terrorists for the Japanese must certainly have represented only the extremities of indigenous reaction. The bulk of the Nasioi - at least of those in the Valley - seem to have followed a pragmatic course: if the Japanese were in power, the Japanese were to be obeyed when they could not be avoided. Perhaps the impressive manner in which the Japanese had chased away the previously dominant Europeans made most Nasioi more eager to obey and less quick to evade. It is true, for example, that south of Mangalim plantation along the coast the Japanese treated the villagers well and received co-operation in return (Long 1963:169); and that in the Valley two men from Rumba joined an unsuccessful ambush of the 'coastwatcher' which cost one of them his life - the other escaped execution through the intervention of a Kongara 'uncle'.

¹ Cf. p.13.

² Cf. Mair (1948:57-8).

However, the Nasioi were equally pragmatic in their emphasis on survival when Allied bombing of the Kieta area began. While the bombing alone did not, apparently, kill many Valley Nasioi, it thoroughly demoralised them. The coastal village of Demboini, near the Japanese airstrip, was abandoned and most of the villagers drifted to Rumba. But informants today insist they spent much of this period (probably 1943-44) living in the bush "olsem wild pig". Having abandoned their gardens and under pressure from the Japanese to provide troops with food, the Nasioi seem to have suffered more casualties from malnutrition and exposure than from direct military action.¹ As the Allied invasion came closer, Valley Nasioi spent more time in the hills, and at least a few drifted over to the west coast after the Allies established a base at Torokina in late 1943 (Long 1963:90). Even those who never left the Valley can still repeat glowing stories they heard of generous servicemen - primarily but not exclusively American - at the west coast installation.

White's general remark (1965:134) about New Guinea coastal people would seem to apply perfectly to the Valley Nasioi:

The deep and abiding effect of the second world war on the majority of New Guineans who experienced it at first hand stemmed less from the tremendous material destruction, loss of life and physical suffering...than from profound psychological and social trauma.

Patrol reports as late as the mid-1950s still mention the difficulty of getting villagers to 'settle down'. The coincidence with World War II of a taro blight, which necessitated the shift to sweet potato as a staple crop, could hardly have made 'settling down' any easier psychologically.²

¹ Exposure and malnutrition would have particularly increased mortality among infants, children, women in labour and the aged. In the four sample villages there does indeed seem to be a 'missing age cohort' of those who would have been born between 1940 and 1945. Unfortunately for analysis, the Administration's method of taking a census - lumping together all persons 16 to 45 years of age - effectively obscures this point.

² On the other hand, the greater productivity of the sweet potato relative to gardening effort would have been of considerable benefit in the early stages of re-establishing gardens.

After the war, Bougainville district headquarters was moved to Sohano in the north, for reasons which seem unconvincing to most Europeans today. This move was probably accompanied by a shift of administrative attention to the Buka area but, by the 1950s according to informants, the Administration was making increased efforts to enforce social change among the Nasioi. The pressures felt by the Nasioi from an increased head tax and the stern enforcement of, for example, requirements to work on the roads, further upset Valley people who had heretofore evaded these responsibilities with some success. At one point the big men of Rumba felt sufficiently desperate to attempt sorcery on the "kiap" by planting nefarious substances which he would encounter on patrol.

But the great focus of political change in post-war years was the Administration's attempt to establish a local government council in the Kieta sub-district.¹ The effect of this effort in polarising opinion in the Kieta-Aropa area is difficult to believe if not observed at first hand. Local government councils became an idee fixe, albeit with varying associations, among all parties concerned. Administration officials seemed convinced that establishment of a council would solve most of the problems of 'cargo cult' and general disaffection among the Nasioi. Consequently a great proportion of the patrol officer's time and energy went into 'sales talks' for the council. Nasioi proponents of the council - almost exclusively SDA and Methodist in the early stages - became sufficiently enthusiastic to exaggerate further the already grandiose Administration claims of what a council would accomplish: the favourite theme, in Pidgin, was "Sapos mipela gat kaunsil, mipela stap olsem ol waitaman" ('If we have a council, we will live like Europeans'). The patent absurdity of some of these claims provided fuel for the anti-council majority.

This dissident majority became equally heated in their denunciations, to the point where other efforts at social development - directed towards goals shared by all Nasioi - were rejected out of hand because they were tainted as

¹ Such popularly elected councils replace the "tultul" and "kukerai" at the village level. They are empowered to impose a council tax instead of the old head tax and to utilise these funds in such small-scale development projects as the construction of medical aid posts. Cf. Healy (1961) for a general account of local government in New Guinea.

"samting bilong kaunsil". Were the Nasioi encouraged to plant cash crops? "Nogat, ol i laik pulim mipela long kaunsil" ('No, we won't. They're just trying to draw us into the council'). The favourite anti-council rumour was that, in order to pay an increased council tax - and it must be noted that tax in many council areas is considerably higher than the \$4 annual head tax in the Valley - Valley women would have to prostitute themselves for the necessary cash. As noted elsewhere (Ogan 1965:400), many Valley Nasioi were reluctant to vote in the 1964 House of Assembly election, despite their enthusiasm for one of the candidates, lest the voting commit them in some way to a local government council.

The Kieta Local Government Council was finally formed in September 1964, and many 'dissident' Nasioi villages were represented in 1966. At least one of the councillors had served a prison term for 'cargo cult' activities and a second - his classificatory kinsman, Sebastian of Kobeinan¹ - was viewed with deep suspicion by the Administration. However, several Valley villages, including all four in the sample, remained outside the council as of early 1967. Neither the wondrous benefits described by council proponents nor the terrors feared by anti-council Nasioi had yet materialised by that time. The council did have a tractor and operated part of the 'government plantation',² but its member villagers hardly lived like Europeans - although there was at least one European councillor. The council had yet to pass any really controversial legislation, such as a vehicle tax which might force Europeans to make a more substantial contribution to local road maintenance. On the other hand, as of early 1967 the councillors steadfastly refused to raise the council tax higher than the Administration head tax paid by non-council villagers. It would seem that the major effect of the introduction of local government to the Nasioi was to divide further a people who might better have been encouraged to unite if political development is to materialise.

The 1964 House of Assembly election has been discussed in detail elsewhere.³ One need only re-emphasise that the Valley Nasioi exhibited no understanding of the European political processes involved and, in the case of sample villages, voted for their candidate in a manner analogous to propitiating a

¹ See p.164ff.

² See pp.80-1.

³ See Ogan (1965); for the 1968 election, see Ogan (1970b).

ma'naang or declaring allegiance to an oboring.¹ They believed they thus established themselves as their candidate's dependents and in 1967 waited for him to provide them with material benefits by dimly understood but presumably supernatural means.

Directed economic development

Rowley (1958:242) maintains that under German administration 'the only interest in village production was related to the copra trade [but that]...the Germans refrained from serious efforts to increase village production because of possible effects on plantation labour supplies'. It is, however, an article of faith among Europeans in Kieta and a few Nasioi informants that the Germans pushed Nasioi into planting coconuts. The two viewpoints may be reconciled if, as seems likely, the Germans urged every man to plant five or ten coconuts for each of his children, since this directive would not have seriously affected the labour line of unmarried youths.

Rowley seems on much firmer ground when he denies (1958: 189, 243) any credit to the early Australian administrators for developing indigenous agriculture. Obviously Administration pacification, road construction and medical assistance had some indirect effect on Nasioi economic development, although such efforts first affected the plantations by providing a more satisfactory labour line and better facilities for moving plantation copra. One rationalisation for the imposition of head tax was the necessity for Nasioi to become involved in the cash economy. But until World War II the only noteworthy piece of economic development more directly benefiting Nasioi - and probably only those on the coast - was the establishment of the 'government plantation'.

Development of indigenous agriculture, like other forms of directed social change, received much greater attention after World War II, but such work in the Nasioi area seems to have suffered from a shortage of specialised personnel. The first full-time agricultural officer was not assigned to Kieta until 1958, and even after that time leave and/or periodic rotation of personnel has sometimes (as in 1963) left the

¹ Those who voted for the locally born candidate may be fairly described as simply following the lead of administrative officers. Cf. Ogan (1965:403).

area without such an officer for several months at a time. Such personnel problems are always painful for administrators, and may mean that an

area has become littered with resentful village memories of unfinished projects and past enthusiasm, so far officially forgotten that an officer may 'try' something without even knowing that the villagers have endured just such an experiment some time before. (Rowley 1965:82)

Thus Valley informants are still bitter at what they describe¹ as abortive efforts by officials to establish peanuts and rice as cash crops without their directing (or even thinking) the projects through in detail. Further, the most conscientious agricultural officer, trying to cover an entire sub-district, will of necessity concentrate on improving extant planting rather than spend many hours trying to revive interest among villagers grown discouraged and apathetic. Nevertheless the agricultural extension programme can share with the plantations such credit as may be assigned to Europeans in development Nasioi cash crop production.²

In recent years the government has also worked to bring Nasioi into the cash economy by leasing, on an informal basis,³ the government coconut 'plantation'. For a small sum, ranging from \$1 to \$4 per month during 1962-65, individuals or villages working together lease the right to harvest the nuts and make copra for sale. Villages in most settlement areas with access to Kieta and the offshore islands have worked the coconuts at one time or another; after the Aropa Valley Road was completed, the "tultul" of Kakadei village operated Tausina with labourers (including some youths from Sirambana) for about two years. In 1965 the Kieta council leased Tausina

¹ I emphasise that these are Nasioi informants' accounts only; I discovered no 'official memory' of such projects. It is certain that turnover of agricultural officers, each of whom gave conflicting instructions, set back Kongara coffee production some years, and discouraged some never-very-enthusiastic villagers from ever again heeding an Australian officer's advice.

² Cf. Chapter 7.

³ This was described as 'a gentlemen's agreement between the ADC and the leasee' by one Administration official, and certainly enables the ADC to provide equal opportunities to villagers who want to undertake the operation.

and the operation was managed by a Rorovana villager and Sebastian of Kobeinan. The council marketed the copra with the Copra Marketing Board in Rabaul under the council's own CMB number; labourers were paid 2½c per lb of processed copra - the same harvesting system as at Ovarim plantation.

The Aropa Valley Road was regarded by the former ADO as a major government step towards Nasioi economic development, and most objective observers would agree that the road, running up to Daratui village, opened new economic possibilities for the area. Many Nasioi informants, however, complained about the hours of work they expended in building and maintaining the road, noting with some justification that most of the vehicles which moved over it belonged to Europeans.¹

The new overseas wharf was built by private enterprise under government tender. Skilled labour was provided by Europeans, semi-skilled by New Guineans from outside Bougainville, and unskilled by Rorovanas and coastal Nasioi. Unfinished in early 1967, the wharf had yet to make its effect felt on the Kieta area.²

Although no government-approved co-operative movement had been established in the Valley by early 1967, two co-operatives in the Kieta area must be briefly described as examples of economic development with government support.³ The first was established in the Koromira area in early 1956 with an initial capital of \$2,300; its capital in March 1965 was \$5,516, or an average shareholding of \$23.80 per member. This society dealt in shell and copra as well as operating a tradestore.

¹ The unsurfaced road is difficult to maintain in the face of eroding rainstorms. The past and present sawmill operators who have responsibility for maintaining the segment between the mill and Bikmoning and whose heavy equipment tears up the road more than any other vehicle, complain bitterly about diverting their energies to maintenance. In 1971 an angry dispute took place between Administration officers, planters, the sawmill manager, and Valley Nasioi over road maintenance and improvement.

² Some recent effects of the Kieta wharf are described in Momis and Ogan (1971).

³ General information on the co-operative movement in Papua New Guinea may be found in Handbook of Papua and New Guinea (1969:101).

Staff was 'all indigenous' in 1965; the secretary was a Buka man who married the real or classificatory 'daughter' of a councillor jailed for 'cargo cult' activities. Other staff were Nasioi: a truck driver, a regular labourer and casual labour as required. A second co-operative was established in the North Nasioi area in 1959 with an initial capital of \$3,454; in 1965 capital was \$4,614 or \$16 average shareholding per member. In contrast to the Koromira group, North Nasioi began by dealing in cocoa and later added copra.

There is no point in discussing these societies in detail since Valley Nasioi informants consistently expressed negative attitudes towards the groups. Their objections seem to have two basic foci. In the first place, Valley informants said that payment for produce was slow and profits negligible. Such objections are not without justification: the original Ordinances establishing the co-operative system in New Guinea so emphasised stability that the large initial capitalisation required was difficult to accumulate, following which much of the capital was effectively 'frozen' to ensure its safety. Like many government projects, the co-operatives also suffered from lack of adequate trained supervision, for example to effect quick payments. Nevertheless, much of the Nasioi objection on this point may be fairly said to stem from their inexperience with, and consequent misunderstanding of, the operations of a European-style business enterprise.

The second kind of objection voiced in response to the question, 'Why don't you have the "kiap" (or "didiman" - agricultural officer) help you get a society'¹ is discussed in greater detail below. Such response may be summarised as 'We don't want the "kiap" in our business, we want our own society'.

Finally, one should note as government-sponsored economic development the institution of a cash crop registry. Such registration by a villager is voluntary. Should he wish to ensure government support of his claim to cocoa or coconut trees he has planted, he makes a deposition to a patrol officer before his assembled village concerning his ownership of the trees, the ownership of the land on which the trees are planted, and the person(s) he wishes to inherit the trees on his death.²

¹ The term 'society' signifies any kind of co-operative organisation to modern Nasioi, see Chapter 8.

² The significance for change of this registry is further explored in Chapters 7 and 8.

Public health

Data on government efforts to improve indigenous health before World War II are extremely scanty. Mair (1948:179-80) notes that an indigenous hospital was established in Kieta in 1922, and some coastal Nasioi were being trained as medical orderlies in the 1930s, if not before. However, informants in the Valley mention only those hygienic measures directed by the "kiap" (e.g., digging latrines, maintaining houses in reasonable repair) as having notable effect on their lives. Perhaps much medical responsibility devolved on the missions by default of the government.

In any event, the post-war period was marked by increased attention to villagers' health. Papua New Guinea was visited by workers of the World Health Organisation's anti-yaws campaign; scholarships were provided to obtain 'cadet' medical doctors for terms in Papua New Guinea; and the Public Health staff was increased by medical personnel from war-ravaged areas of Europe, who thus put their skills to use despite obstacles to their full accreditation in Australia. Kieta hospital was in the hands of a European medical assistant until 1964; since then a European medical doctor with European and/or New Guinean assistants has been in attendance.

But most important for Bougainville and the Nasioi has been the government's malaria eradication programme. This began in 1960 by spraying village buildings with a DDT solution; mass drug administration began in 1962. Parasitological tests carried out by the government note a sharp reduction in parasite rate between 1962 and 1964. Although official censuses cannot provide adequate information, it seems certain that the programme has effectively eliminated malaria as a major killer, and it is reasonable to assume that it has particularly reduced infant and child mortality. More sophisticated Nasioi appreciate, at least in some small degree, that the programme is one factor in the widely recognised improvement in village health and increased numbers of children.

Medical and administrative patrols, ideally but seldom in practice at semi-annual intervals, continued to encourage improved standards of village hygiene during 1962-66. A government programme of infant and maternal welfare, with periodic visits to villages by a nursing team, began in the Valley in 1965; it was difficult to estimate the effect of this work by 1967. However, the fact that between 45 and 50 per cent of the population of the South Nasioi census division is under fifteen years of age strongly suggests that government work

in public health has created the possibility of a population explosion in the next decade, with effects on social and economic change which may be imagined.

Education

Australia's record in providing public education for New Guineans is so bad and sufficiently well-known that extended comment is not required. The specific point here is that Bougainville District and the Kieta area have probably received less direct attention from government educators than have other parts of the country. The situation was certainly worse before World War II (Mair 1948:173, Rowley 1958:266) but even in the post-war period education of Nasioi was still largely in the hands of the missions.¹

A government primary school was established in Kieta town in about 1960; it initially served the children of New Guineans (e.g., policemen) employed by the Administration. Since that time the school has experienced a number of transformations, sometimes directed by European, at others by New Guinean teachers. At the end of 1966 it had two European teachers, one conducting an 'A' (for Europeans), the other a 'T' (for New Guineans) course. Instruction was offered to standard 6. Those older Nasioi boys (I knew of no girls attending upper grades) who attended were 'overflow', 'rejects', or voluntary transfers from the Catholic schools. None of these students were from the sample villages nor, apparently, from other villages in the Valley.

A new government high school is located in Buka; while no Valley Nasioi were in attendance in 1966, this school represents a major addition to educational opportunity in the District. Of potentially greater interest to Valley Nasioi was a junior vocational school which opened in Kieta in 1967. This school will take those boys who have completed standard 6, but with minimal grades, and train them in semi-skilled work.

This vocational training, albeit at a low level, is something the Nasioi themselves regarded as very desirable.

¹ It is likely that such recent attempts as the government may have made to establish schools in the sub-district were resisted by the missions which, predictably, would prefer government aid to education in the form of increased subsidies to mission schools.

Complaints against Europeans were frequently voiced in such terms as "Bilong wanem ol i no sikulim mipela?" ('Why don't they [the Australians] educate us?') and the present emphasis on academic rather than 'practical' subjects in mission schools was scorned. However, it must be stressed that the Nasioi lacked any appreciation of education as Europeans understand the concept, and they may actually have wished that the European would "sikulim mipela" in the supernatural techniques which 'really' produce such items as motor vehicles. In fact, the teacher in charge of the school in 1971 said that the response of Valley Nasioi youth to the opportunity offered was very poor.

The indigenous military force, the Pacific Islands Regiment, may be briefly mentioned as a kind of 'government education'. While recruiting on Bougainville has been limited (Bell 1967: 49), three youths from the sample villages were soldiers in the PIR during 1962-64. One of them was dishonourably discharged in 1966 and was reportedly working for Sam Moo Tang in early 1967. In his case, such skills as truck driving, learned under government auspices, may now be utilised by his fellow villagers. However, it is obvious that only the least stable PIR products will thus rejoin the Nasioi community and the consequent possibilities for social change are not promising.

Some effects of administration

Imposition of new political authority has, of necessity, helped to differentiate such functions from the religious and kinship aspects of traditional Nasioi life. New roles ("kiap", policeman, "tultul", "kukerai", "doktaboi"), new structures and/or collectivities (e.g., "kaunsil") have been established. The payment of taxes in cash may lead to internal differentiation of the economic sub-system. Perhaps most significant of all, and all too easily overlooked or misunderstood by Europeans, improved health and lowered mortality developing from public health practices in an essentially secular atmosphere must certainly weaken the traditional nexus¹ of health/therapy - religion/sorcery - politics/social control.

¹ I am consciously using here a figure of speech in an analytic distinction. I do not assume that such differentiation is visible 'on the ground' or that the Nasioi thus see their world.

But in these changes, produced by European government activities among the Nasioi, is most painfully exposed the problem of differentiation without integration (Parsons 1966:23). This problem is, of course, basic to the colonial situation generally. Some of the new roles ("kiap", policeman) are never filled by Nasioi.¹ The local government council is imperfectly understood by the Nasioi councillors and is regarded by many as no more than another "kivung" called to order by the "kiap". (However, it must be stressed that local government councils represent the outstanding effort at integration to date.) Insofar as cash is tendered with no understanding of the legal norms involved in a system of taxation, the money so used is just another form of makutu or 'special purpose valuables'. A "kiap" whose decisions are arbitrary, without integrating or even inquiring about Nasioi values, is similarly no more than an unsatisfactory oboring, who must be evaded whenever possible since he cannot be rendered ineffectual by a shift of allegiance in the traditional manner.

Indeed, the history of Australian administration of the Nasioi has created a situation beyond the mere failure to integrate new social institutions. For much of the Valley, European government has generated active hostility. Rowley's contrast (1965:72) between the New Guinea highlands and coastal areas is so applicable to the Aropa Valley that it must be quoted at length:

Where the people have rapidly become involved in making new decisions, in new economic activities, in new experiences in a wider world, there is every chance that attitudes change, and early traditions of tyrannical interference fade away with the old men. But where the government has maintained over long periods what seems pointless interference in the affairs of villagers; and its officers seem to have pointlessly exercised power at their expense, the initial resentment will remain, often under a facade of what the white man sees as 'apathy'.

The development of such a situation in the Kieta sub-district² involves a number of factors, of which the most

¹ It is government policy never to assign police to their home District. I know of no Valley Nasioi serving as a policeman elsewhere in the country.

² And elsewhere in Bougainville District; cf. Rowley (1965: 168).

significant in this context of Australian administration is the island's relative isolation from national headquarters and its consequent disregard by higher authority - a condition which is rapidly changing since mining operations began. 'Out of sight, out of mind' has clearly affected the governing of Bougainville as much as any more grandiose theory of colonial rule, and most Europeans in Kieta in the early 1960s would repeat on any occasion the story that the island never even appeared on national maps hung in Port Moresby offices.

It is not necessary to explore the subtleties of administrative decisions made at headquarters to appreciate the effects on Valley Nasioi. The growing resentment and distrust of European political institutions, coming at the same time as traditional insitutions of social control (the power of oboring, sorcery) were diminished by contact with Europeans, have left a serious gap in Valley social organisation.¹ The manner in which this gap, or integrative failure, affects economic change is evident in resistance to co-operative societies, and the extension of anti-council sentiments to cash crop cultivation. One example of the gap in social control may be cited here.²

Early in my fieldwork, Rumba was visited by a robust older man of rather unusual appearance. When I asked about him, my informant told me his name, something about his background and, in conclusion, casually mentioned that the man was a murderer. I pressed for and received details: the murderer had slain his victim, whose remarried widow lived in Rumba, with an axe a few years before in a quarrel over some nets for snaring pigs. I asked how and why the man had never been arrested and my informant replied with an ingenuous smile, 'Oh, the "kiap" asked what happened to [the victim] but we just lied a little bit'.³

European influences: conclusions

Inevitably this presentation of European-Nasioi relations in terms of three kinds of European institutions has somewhat distorted the picture of the Kieta sub-district in the early

¹ Cf. Eisenstadt (1966:25). ² See also Chapters 7 and 8.

³ Many months later another informant explicitly stated that the murder was never reported because of a general village policy to evade the "kiap's" attention at all costs.

1960s. Planter, missionary and government official interact with each other as well as with the Nasioi, and the conflicts among the three elements of European society are sometimes noteworthy. Commercial interests regularly exert political pressure on the government,¹ while the Catholic mission's stand in 1966 on mining rights² made public the mission's conflict with both Administration and commercial interests.

Sometimes, in small matters, Nasioi are able to exploit the conflicts among Europeans in order to avoid some repugnant task, for example refusal to do weekly government road work on a holy day of obligation. But more often they view all Europeans as a single threatening force, so that an individual European who tries his best to help the Nasioi becomes tarred with the guilt of a 'coon-bashing' plantation overseer. This (common human) tendency to see all Europeans in terms of the group's worst representatives is especially harmful to economic and social change since there existed in Kieta up to 1967 many concrete and symbolic aspects of anti-Nasioi discrimination.

Indeed, in 1964 a visiting senior Administration official insisted to me that he found 'race relations' in Kieta as bad as any place he had seen in the country. However inaccurate or disingenuous that remark may have been, no observer could fail to note, for example, the constitutional exclusion of New Guineans from the local social club;³ the common practice that Nasioi were to stand at the foot of stairs to European houses until the European deigned to notice their presence; the frequent insistence on Nasioi use of "masta" and "missis" in addressing Europeans; and the occasions (decreasing since 1964) on which Nasioi 'cheekiness' was punished by blows for which I never heard of a European being arrested.

¹ The constant complaint of the planter that the Administration does not provide him sufficient assistance is another contrast between the observed situation and the planter's self-image as the ruggedly independent pioneer.

² Catholic missionaries took a similar pro-village stand on timber rights in the Buin sub-district.

³ With the opening of the hotel bars and the presence of Bougainville Copper personnel who ignore the club, this discrimination has declined in symbolic importance. Planters helped Nasioi ex-servicemen to organise their own social club, core membership of which consists of relatively pro-Australian Nasioi.

As Bettison (1966:228) has pointed out, 'The authoritarian and paternalistic air of the patrol officer coping with law and order in a population of 25,000 or the plantation manager coping with a labour line of 120, is carried over into the small town'. At least until 1964 - the presence of Bougainville Copper seems to have made a difference since that date - planters set the tone of 'race relations' in Kieta, and, as elsewhere in New Guinea, they approximated a 'stronghold of racial discrimination, an attitude that tends to spread to all European residents' (Hogbin 1958:176).¹

The reactions of the Nasioi are comparable to those of deprived people as far distant geographically as American Negroes or the Malagasy. Like the latter, the Nasioi have attempted to transfer a traditional pattern of dependence (on ma'naang, on oboring, on the indulgent parent; cf. Ogan n.d.) to Europeans. They

were prepared to treat as father and mother governors and administrators [and planters and missionaries] not always worthy of that honour; but people dominated by a need for dependence cannot identify themselves with leaders who, they feel - they may be wrong, but no matter - have abandoned them. (Mannoni 1964:139)

This 'abandonment', discussed at length by Mannoni for the Malagasy, was most dramatically symbolised for the Nasioi by the flight of Europeans in World War II, but the long history of European presence without Nasioi integration into the new world the white man brought must ultimately have been even more traumatic. Whether one views the present hostile attitude of many younger Nasioi as the 'development of inferiority' (Mannoni 1964:39-48) or a 'crisis of aspirations' (Bendix 1965:31) or in the larger context of modernisation (Eisenstadt 1966:23), the problems created by European contact for future Nasioi economic development remain acute.

Such problems may be briefly recapitulated: the historic development of European influence on the Aropa Valley Nasioi has been one of social differentiation without integration. Early contact could be viewed by the Nasioi in terms of traditional dependence, whether transferred towards a Christian pantheon and hierarchically organised church, a paternalistic planter or an authoritarian "kiap". But a simple dependent mode of behaviour proved inadequate to deal with the new

¹ Cf. Mannoni (1964:114-16), Rowley (1965:74).

institutions introduced by Europeans or, as many Nasioi saw the situation, dependence failed to produce the material benefits enjoyed by the white man. After 'abandoning' the Nasioi in World War II, returning Europeans themselves presented the villagers with an ideology of achievement and indicated that Nasioi were now expected to attain a new standard of living by virtue of their own efforts. Yet neither previous experience nor present circumstances (e.g., commercial organisation within Papua New Guinea) prepared the Nasioi for such efforts, while at least some Europeans continued to block Nasioi achievement of 'white man's status' in many concrete and symbolic ways. Small wonder, then, that the observer was presented in the early 1960s with a picture of disorganisation or lack of integration in Valley social life, and of hostility, inferiority feelings, and lack of control among individual Nasioi youth.¹ The effects of this social and individual disorganisation on economic change are discussed further in the following three chapters.

¹ Although it is not possible to include extensive comparison with American Negroes in this essentially ethnographic study, I believe there exist at least highly illuminating analogies to the Nasioi case. To cite one example, the following quotation may cast light on the huge - relative to income - expenditures on alcoholic beverages noted for Nasioi youth (Ogan 1966a):

...even those better off tend to turn earnings immediately into consumption. The reasons are clear enough to anyone sensitive to the frustrations under which almost all Negroes in America live. They are sufficient to explain the search for pleasure in consumption which makes the pattern of saving and self-denial so rare. (Glazer and Moynihan 1964:33-4)

Chapter 6

The modern social setting

This chapter attempts to describe aspects of Nasioi social life as I observed it in the Aropa Valley, in order to provide a background for the material which follows on economic activities. Except where noted, observations in this and subsequent chapters were made between 1962 and 1964. Since this chapter is based on participant observation, it includes some lengthy exemplary material and the unavoidable intrusion of 'I', the ethnographer.

Settlement

Household. The primary referent of the Nasioi word paba is the physical structure in which people sleep, cook, eat and carry out other domestic activities. The word may be extended to indicate a social group associated with that house as, in answer to the question 'Are they really married [as opposed to being betrothed or to courting]?', 'Narung pabako otobesi' ('They two stay in one house [so they must be married]'). Thus the unit which I have designated as 'household' is recognised in different social contexts by the Nasioi themselves.

A tabulation of households and their composition, grouped by hamlets and villages, is found in Appendix A. The household composed of man, wife and unmarried children is statistically modal (42 households of 89 in the sample); the next largest category is that of man and wife only (16 of the sample). Furthermore, an analysis of 'domestic group cycles' (Fortes 1950) supports the contention that the 'nuclear household' composed of man, wife and immature children is typical in ideology and practice.

Upon marriage the couple may live for a time in the same house as the bride's or groom's kin but informants state that a married couple should live in their own dwelling, especially when they begin to produce children. There are three households in the sample in which adult married couples live with

older married kin: in each case the younger couple had no children at the time of the census, and in one case the young husband had his own house partly constructed. On the other hand, previously independent households may join together temporarily while one couple builds a new house to replace one destroyed or damaged by the elements. Since house-building can be a prolonged process, such a temporary 'joint household' may persist for several months.

As time goes by, one of the couple may become hospitalised, die or desert, producing a household of widowed or separated spouse plus children, either immature or adult but unmarried (3 cases). Alternatively the remaining spouse may either join a kinsman's nuclear household (1 case) or take in an unattached kinsman (1 case). A child marrying late in life will remain with the parents for some time after biological maturity (1 case).

A single adult of whatever age may choose to dwell alone, if capable and willing to do his or her own gardening and cooking. At least one case was recorded of an extremely old, if not senile, woman who refused to live in her son's nuclear household, maintaining her own establishment despite her many infirmities. Otherwise aged, crippled, lazy or incompetent single individuals attach themselves to the nuclear household of another, usually defined in some fashion as a kinsman. Such cases include that of an extremely deformed man with no close kin who lives in the household of a man to whom he is related only in the sense that they are both members of the same mu.¹ A kind of 'social cripple' is the only person in the sample who is illegitimate in the sense of lacking even a putative father; he lives in the household of a woman he calls 'sister'.

In short, the normal expectation of a Nasioi is to grow up in the household of his parents, to establish his own household after marriage (and perhaps after a period of living in the household of his or his spouse's kin), to maintain a household with his spouse and their own or foster children, and, when age or other incapacities prevent his providing for his own needs, to join the household of his grown-up child or other kinsman. That this expectation is fulfilled is demonstrated by the data in Appendix A.

The (normally nuclear) household is the unit of subsistence production and consumption, and provides for the care and

¹ See p.99ff.

socialisation of children. Ordinarily members of the household eat together; certainly the adult female of the household is expected to cook the main meal each day, although her older children may choose to eat with other kin while her husband may spend the night in the garden or near his place of employment. All females in the household over the age of six years are expected to work in the gardens to provide the bulk of the household's food. As will be further described in Chapter 7, distribution of food at the time of feasting is made to the household as consuming unit. The household has exclusive use of the structure in which it dwells even if, as in the case of a Rumba widow with small children, the members of the household had little or no part in its actual construction.

Husband and wife sleep in one room, ordinarily near the hearth, with their smallest children; if the household contains other sexually active adults, they will sleep in a separate section of the house or in an outbuilding. Older men, even the senior male in a 'joint household', may sleep with other men in a structure analogous to the men's house of old, though it is not always so called today. The regulation of sexual activity is probably a major determinant of the nuclear household; one informant, in answer to a question about the existence of 'joint households' in former times, said that people would be 'ashamed' to live thus. A major scandal occurred in Rumba in a temporarily 'joint household': the adolescent step-son of the senior male attempted intercourse with his step-father's niece, in the absence of her husband who was employed on Kavivi plantation. The composition of nuclear households eliminates the risk of such contretemps.

Although in the permissive atmosphere of Nasioi childhood a child is almost always welcome to sleep or eat in any household in the village, he spends most of his evenings and nights in the household of his genealogical or foster parents. He receives such few punishments as are meted out, as well as treats of European food, toys and clothing, within this unit. It is this household which is 'my house' to the child.

Hamlet. The Nasioi do not draw the distinction between hamlet and village which I make here. Both are translated by Nasioi otsi or Pidgin "ples". The village of Rumba means, for practical purposes, those individuals who are included in the government census under that heading; what are here called hamlets are named localities in which one or more of these individuals reside. (For the sake of simplicity, the separate hamlets are listed merely as Rumba A, B, C, etc.). As Appendix

A shows, hamlets vary in size; they also vary in terms of the kinship relations among the component households.

A Nasioi never loses all ties with the hamlet in which he grows up. He can always re-establish residence there, according to informants. Furthermore, as observed in Rumba, no matter how long he may live as an adult in a different hamlet, should a dispute arise opponents native to his adopted hamlet will denounce him as someone who doesn't belong.

Finally, hamlets are relocated for some of the same reasons cited in Chapter 2.¹ In addition, in Rumba and Bakatung I observed hamlets in the process of moving closer to the vehicular road. Future population increases will almost certainly produce a still greater consolidation of settlements.

Village. I have already indicated that what are here called villages are essentially units formed by the Administration. In the cases of Rumba and Siromba, the official name of the village refers in indigenous usage to another tract of land, from which the inhabitants moved after the original census roll was compiled. However, once formed, these administrative units may have considerable social significance for the Nasioi. For example, road labour is assigned by the government according to village, so one day a week the village functions with variable success as a co-operative labour unit. Other non-indigenous foci promoting interaction among individuals included in the village are the churches (located in Rumba A, Sirambana B, Bakatung A and Siromba A) and the co-operative store.²

But while hamlets of a given village may perform certain tasks together, there is neither geographic continuity nor consistent social co-operation among them. For example:

Sirambana D is on the opposite side of the river to Sirambana A, B and C and is physically closer to Rumba A and Siromba A than to any of the hamlets with which it 'lines' for census and tax purposes. A child from Siromba A is buried in the cemetery near, and most frequently used by, Rumba A, while the body of a woman of Rumba G lies in a single grave near the residence she occupied while alive.

In short, the village does not meet the definition of a 'community' as 'the maximal group of persons who normally

¹ See p.13.

² See Chapter 8.

reside together in face-to-face association' (Murdock 1949: 79). Such communities are formed by from one (e.g., Rumba C) to three (e.g., Rumba A+B+D) hamlets.

The kinship idiom

In everyday activities in the hamlet or village, Nasioi regularly employ the idiom of kinship. When asked to explain a particular interaction, such as X giving a pig to Y, informants are likely to reply tersely, 'X is his "uncle"'. Yet the observer who wishes to gain greater understanding of the realities of Nasioi life must avoid confusing this idiom with specific rules for action. Nasioi, like other Melanesians, show considerable skill in manipulating kinship and other aspects of their society.

Mu. Every Nasioi claims affiliation with a named unit called a mu; he belongs to the mu of his biological mother and nothing (e.g., being fostered by a woman of a different mu whom he calls nko, 'mother') can change that affiliation. In a society where genealogical knowledge in the European sense is narrowly disseminated, I found that mu affiliation is one piece of kinship information every normal Nasioi over the age of approximately eight years has at his command. All persons belonging to the same mu are regarded as being related even though the specific connections are not known; this relationship is sometimes symbolised by such descriptive expressions as narung ereng ('one blood').¹ The mu is ideally exogamous. Associated with each mu are certain natural phenomena (see Table 6.1). Some of these phenomena are alleged to be prohibited (meeka, 'tabu, sacred') as foodstuffs; however, only Tankorinkan mu's avoidance of 'eel' was consistently observed, and many older people of other mu were equally scrupulous in avoiding this delicacy. Such basic foodstuffs as coconuts and canarium almonds are enjoyed by all, regardless of mu membership. By relating the associated phenomena of their native kin categories or groups, immigrants of different linguistic affiliation (e.g., Nagovisi, Siwai) can adjust to the Nasioi mu system.²

¹ Cf. Hogbin and Wedgwood (1953:264).

² The details of mu systems differ between the Aropa Valley and Kongara, and other Nasioi speakers may also have variants peculiar to their respective geographic areas.

Table 6.1

A listing of mu recorded in four Nasioi villages*

<u>Mu</u>	<u>Sub-mu</u>	<u>Associated natural phenomena</u>
Tankorinkan	Baianu	<u>baram</u> (eel)
Kuraban	Karampontu	<u>bei</u> (bamboo)
	Iaroi	<u>mou</u> (coconut)
	Urakai	<u>maing</u> (canarium almond)
		<u>akova</u> (nocturnal bird with big beak)
Bakorinko	Ninkumpontu	<u>tsimborikao</u> (tiny bird with flame on breast)
	Pako	
	Tsipoko	
	Tsimpirako	<u>utsia</u> (small white bird)
	Bomporong	<u>nta</u> (fire)
Batuan	Batsikan	<u>boru</u> (snake)
	Baratinari	<u>pirung</u> (ocean)
	Mankonang	<u>mairobei</u> (iguana)
	Keonare	
	Kamuan	
	Pateki	
Barapan	Makemeva	<u>kaato</u> (sago)
	Unankong	<u>mareoi</u> (eagle)
	Boranoi	
	Kavakinari	
	Kupare	
	Kampenari	
	Matonaru	
Datanum		<u>kaketa</u> (white cockatoo)
		<u>baram</u> (eel) [<u>sic</u>]
Manta		<u>manu'a</u> (hornbill)

* The rendering of these names in English orthography is very approximate. One may suspect that they can be declined like kinship terms (e.g., Bakorinkung for a male, Bakorinkani for a female).

Mu can be glossed 'dispersed matriclan' (Hogbin and Wedgwood 1953:250-1); Americans (e.g., Murdock 1949:47) might prefer 'sib'. Just as the term otsi may describe units of differing size, so may the request, Dakana mu tampei ('Name your mu')

be answered, for example, either Tankorinkan or Baianu. I employ the term sub-mu or sub-clan for the smaller units; they fit Murdock's (1949:47) definition of sub-sib. The knowledge of sub-clan affiliation appears to be confined to adults; thus, when asked to name one's mu, a mature woman replied Kamuan, while her twelve-year-old son answered Batuan. (In interviewing, I made the distinction between mu pankai and mu okina ('big mu' and 'little mu')); I never heard Nasioi employ this usage among themselves.)

Sub-clans are most commonly distinguished when a marriage or sexual liaison has taken place within the larger unit: a Bakorinko interpreter expressed shock at a marriage within Kuraban mu whereupon the Kuraban informant was careful to note that one partner was Kuraban ('proper'?) while the other was Karampontu. The same distinction was made by a Kuraban youth discussing his plans for an assignation.

Despite the fact that every Nasioi has a lifetime clan affiliation of which he is early aware and which has significance for many of his daily activities, neither clan nor sub-clan constitutes an action group. The comments of Scheffler (1964: 130) are worth quoting at length for their relevance to the Nasioi situation:

A descent rule neither necessarily nor automatically yields 'groups' of any sort, even if it specifies that all persons with a given descent identity...shall form a unit for some particular purpose(s). It is the purpose(s) for which they are nominally united by the descent rule that determines whether the unity shall be termed a group (as opposed to, say, a 'category' or 'social field').

In other words, mu and sub-mu constitute categories which 'function to dispose [their] members to group formation and relationships [although their] total membership does not thereby constitute a group' (Goffman 1963:24).

The meaningful Nasioi interaction group formed on the basis of mu and sub-mu categories consists of those members of a mu who are co-resident, or at least in frequent face-to-face contact, and who share rights to a given area of land. These individuals form what is called here simply, to avoid cross-cultural connotations, a mu-group. I was able to discover no term in the Nasioi language for the mu-group. When asked, for example, to clarify niikana kantsi ('our land'), informants might reply in Pidgin, "Graun bilong mipela Batuan bilong Rumba".

Some contexts in which members of a given mu-group were seen to co-operate are here offered as examples (other cases will be described at appropriate points in the discussion):

provision of food and betel for guests from distant hamlets, at the funeral of a mu-group-mate;

allotment of land on which coconuts might be planted by the husband of a mu-group-mate;

collection of coconuts belonging to a mu-group-mate and transport to his smoke-house;

verbal support of a male mu-group-mate in a charge of slander brought against a female of another mu.

Thus an action group may be formed on the basis of mu affiliation to carry out production, life cycle rituals and settlement of disputes. However, as will be clearly demonstrated below, mu affiliation is not the only basis for formation of such groups. Insofar as I could infer from informants' replies to such hypothetical questions as 'What if a Batuan man comes from far away and wants to make a garden at Rumba?', the greatest potential significance of the mu-group lies in its control over a tract of land.¹ For reasons detailed elsewhere,² this control has been variably exercised in the past and, given the changing political and economic situation, it may cease to exist in the foreseeable future.

Any adult member of the mu-group has a voice in decisions of the group - women make their opinions known indirectly - but de facto leadership is assumed on the basis of both ascriptive factors (age, relationship to previous leaders) and demonstrated achievements (industry, approved personality traits). Thus, all the mu-group leaders in Rumba were over forty-five years of age,³ maintained substantial gardens as well as stands of coconuts, displayed generosity, calmness and helpfulness, and were related in some way to Maura, the oboring of the pre-World War I period.

Kin terminology. A summary of current Nasioi kin terminology as derived from repeated interviews appears in Table 6.2 This represents the formal system. However, any individual using kin terms is affected by factors above and beyond the formal system in a manner analogous to, for example, a

¹ Cf. Barrau (1958:8).

² See p.154ff.

³ Cf. Reay (1964:244).

Table 6.2

Nasioi kinship terminology

Nasioi term*	Primary genealogical referent**
<u>mma</u>	F, FB, MZH
<u>nko</u>	M, MZ, FBW
<u>paapa</u>	MB, FZH, wsHF
<u>kaampo</u>	FZ, MBW, wsHM
<u>taata</u>	eB, MZeS, FBeS
<u>maama</u>	eZ, MZeD, FBeD
<u>ntarama'nung</u>	yB, MZyS, FByS
<u>ntarama'nang</u>	yZ, MZyD, FByD
<u>mmaari</u>	msZ, msMZD, mxFBD, wsB, wsMZs, wsFBS
<u>noori</u>	msFZS, msMBS, msWB, msZH
<u>naaikang</u>	msFZD, msMBD
<u>maasi</u>	wsFZD, wsMBD, wsHZ, wsBW
<u>naaikung</u>	wsFZs, wsMBS
<u>nuring</u>	S, wsZS, msBS
<u>norang</u>	D, wsZD, msBD
<u>nampuru'nung</u>	wsBS, msZS
<u>nampuru'nang</u>	wsBD, msZD, SW
<u>kaaka</u>	FF, MF, FFB, MFB, FFZH, MFZH
<u>teete</u>	MM, FM, MMZ, FMZ, FFBW, MFBW
<u>nompeng</u>	SCh, DCh, BChCH, ZChCh
<u>naung</u>	H
<u>naang</u>	W
<u>nora</u>	DH, msWM, msWF
<u>nobari</u>	msBW, wsZH
<u>nabo</u>	M, B, Z, MB, MM, wsCh
<u>nakang</u>	F, FZ, FM, msCH

* All terms are given in the first person singular (mma = 'my father'). For a complete paradigm, but with different orthography, see Rausch (1912a).

** Z = sister, e = elder than speaker, y = younger than speaker, ms = man speaking, ws = woman speaking, Ch = child(ren).

deliberate use of 'ungrammatical' English to create a desired social effect. Such factors are only likely to be discovered in long-term observation of mundane activities. I observed the following in Nasioi; they are obviously not mutually exclusive:

residence: residential propinquity and the associated frequent interaction will tend to create usages which

employ lineal kin terms for collateral relatives. This is most common when cross-cousins living together employ 'sibling-parallel cousin' terms.

relative age: when the formal system would indicate the use of a kin term grossly inappropriate to the relative ages of the individuals in interaction, different terms reflecting more realistic generation distinctions will be used.

mu-affiliation: given the limited number of kin terms in the formal system, ego may have the option of using one of two terms in describing his relationship to alter. He will ordinarily use the term which stresses his mu connection. (However, agnatic half-siblings of different mu use the same terms as full, or uterine half-siblings.)

situation: ego can use kin terms like other words to express affect or lack thereof towards alter, to persuade, to deceive, etc. I most frequently noted an 'ungrammatical' use of kin terms - reflecting a closer genealogical relationship than actually existed - when one Nasioi made a request of another.

Use of kin terms, as opposed to proper names, in address is most affected by relative age and situation. Children should address adults by kin terms and adults continually employ kinship terms as they socialise infants and toddlers: Tabeauka, dataata ('Don't hit him, he's your older brother'), Abeai, dauring ('Give it to him, your son'). The lessons in terminology are learned early. The youngest child I ever observed using a 'grammatical' kinship identification of a non-nuclear kinsman was twenty-two months old. Hearing me discuss kin terms with some women, she walked over to a boy slightly older, placed her hand on his arm, and said Paapa aung ('Here is my uncle').¹

The same factors listed as important in creating kin term usage operate in other kinds of behaviour between individuals who employ those kin terms. However, as background to understanding economic change in Nasioi life, additional aspects should be considered.

¹ Note that the genealogical connection between these two children was obscure, but that he could not have been more closely related than her MMMZDS.

One of these factors is the ideological opposition between the sexes; the other side of this coin is the sexes' complementarity in economic activities. For subsistence production, both men and women are needed in the initial preparation of gardens; once the clearing is completed, women can regularly and profitably work together. Thus an economic arrangement might be said to strengthen further a mother-daughter tie already supported by ideal uxori-locality. (Married sisters, however, are more likely to garden separately in the service of their respective households.) On the other hand, not only would the uxori-local pattern physically separate an adult son from his mother, but there is relatively little economic incentive for continuing interaction.

Cash crop production is particularly profitable for co-operating adult males, while a woman's contribution is deemed less vital. Such co-operation frequently takes place between brothers and brothers-in-law; they may plant cash crops together, work together making copra, and supply cash when the occasion arises. The Administration's policy that a man planting cash crop trees may select his heir means that a variety of kin-economic ties may develop; in fact, the father-son link seems appreciably strengthened.¹

In short, certain themes run throughout the kinship idiom in which everyday Nasioi affairs are cloaked: affiliation with a mu and potentially a mu-group; residence; the ideological opposition between the sexes, together with their complementarity in economic activities; and the interplay between kinship and the effort to achieve economic and prestige advantages. These themes should be clarified by, and at the same time illuminate, the following description of the social background of certain exchanges.

Exchange and the individual life cycle

The individual Nasioi becomes involved with the exchange of goods and services even before he is born. Since parents decide on a child's name before its birth, judicious choice of a namesake may ensure a variety of support for the child (e.g., the observed case of a childless married man who planted cocoa for his namesake).

At birth the mother is aided by one or more women, typically those who will be 'grandmother' or 'aunt' to the child

¹ See Chapter 7.

(but not genealogical MM, FM, or FZ). Since the mother does not nurse the infant until her milk flows freely, he receives the breast from another nursing mother. The choice of wet-nurse appears to be a casual one, depending as much on availability of milk and willingness of the wetnurse as upon, for example, kin connections.

Most women stay away from the garden for about two weeks after giving birth. Visitors who come from some distance to see the infant receive hospitality which may include tinned fish and other European foods, while women of the mother's clan provide food, water and firewood for her household.

As the child grows older any of his new experiences may serve as the occasion for celebrations of varying scope. A simple version of a 'growing-up feast' involved a group of older women who gathered at a Rumba house late one afternoon, sang, and received areca nut from the child's father. This commemorated the little boy's first visit to a stream at which women catch freshwater prawns. The most elaborate feast observed for a toddler, to commemorate a little girl's 'first eating in public', consisted of both Nasioi (sweet potato, betel) and European (rice, tea, beer) items, distributed under a shelter made for the occasion. Food and other goods were provided by kin of both father and mother. Singing, dancing and horseplay, especially among the child's 'aunts', were special features.

The child is socialised into approved patterns of exchange as into other aspects of Nasioi culture. When disputes arise between children over possession of a plaything, adults decide the matter in favour of the younger child or, if ages are approximately equal, in favour of the original possessor. The loser is solaced with food or some other attention. By the time the child is two or older, he is encouraged to be generous; thus toddlers who received a packet of sweet biscuits were always instructed to offer some to onlookers. It was thought both appropriate and amusing to send small children to invite me to partake of special delicacies.

Even a game reminiscent of 'this little piggy went to market' can be seen as teaching traditional patterns of exchange. The child and an older person join hands, one atop the other, presumably to suggest a wasp's nest. The older player moves the 'nest' of hands up and down as he recites to the effect: 'The wasps were building a house, with sago thatch, with thatch for a roof. The rat didn't help, and so didn't eat dobe (a delicacy of grated coconut).' In other words,

animals are described as following the traditional pattern of rewarding with food those who help build one's house.¹

Social differentiation between the sexes is noticeable at about the age of four, when little girls are given "laplap" while little boys continue to run naked in the village. More significantly, little girls are expected to accompany their mothers or other female adults to the garden while boys of six or older may amuse themselves in groups at the river or in the bush. Children over six years of age attended a mission school at Marai, about a half-hour's walk from Rumba. However, school was held only until noon, attendance was erratic, and the school's most notable function during 1962-64 was the expansion of the child's world beyond the confines of village and close kin.

A special kind of exchange, which may take place after a child is weaned but before adolescence, is fosterage (mo'mo). Although the number of cases for which I have extensive data is small (six if one counts the number of fostering couples; I have partial information on another six cases), some significant inferences may be made.

Motives for giving a child to be fostered are clear from the data. A widow(er) or abandoned spouse must rid him(her)-self of immature children before remarriage is feasible, if the new marriage can reasonably be expected to produce children. Informants indicated that a step-child represented potential conflict for a second marriage to which other children were born, and that this threat was best avoided by 'getting rid of' the immature progeny of earlier marriages. This applied equally to both marriage partners.

Biological parents may also give a child in mo'mo to someone with whom a special relationship exists or is desired (e.g., to a sibling of one of the parents or to a 'big man'). A final reason for giving away a child is the genuine inability of the mother to care for him. I observed no unambiguous cases of this, but informants gave the example of twins: since the mother could not nurse both children, she would try to give one away to a lactating woman who had lost her own child. A male informant said that in such a case, if the twins were of different sex, the boy would be given away because of his lesser economic potential.

¹ See pp.32-3.

The motives of the fostering couple are not so clear-cut; informants merely say they want (pia) the child. Certainly simple affect is a major factor: Nasioi generally like children and, until recently, high infant mortality meant that children were literally scarce. But in addition to the affection with which children are generally regarded, economic-prestige considerations may be relevant to fosterage. Any adherent, kinsman or otherwise, is a potential resource for securing or maintaining 'big man' status. However, if purely economic considerations were the only factor, more girls than boys would be sought and taken in fosterage since girls are the gardeners and, in an ideally uxorilocal system, would remain with the fostering parents. In fact, the six cases are evenly divided.

Whatever the exact combination of motives producing it, fosterage does not appear to completely alter kinship arrangements existing outside the household. The fostered child retains his clan membership and addresses his foster parents by the kin term he would use if the new relationship had never been established. In every observed case, the child lived sufficiently near his biological parent(s) to interact with them on occasion.

Furthermore, fosterage did not seem to affect Nasioi adaptation to introduced social institutions. Adopted children 'lined' at tax collections with their biological parent(s), thus giving the parent(s) the advantage of a tax exemption without the bother of caring for the child. No formal notification of fosterage is made to the mission; the mission is only concerned that the child be brought up in the Catholic faith and it is a priori unlikely that any child would be given in mo'mo to a Seventh Day Adventist or Methodist.

But it should not be assumed therefore, that the fostering relationship is merely a casual one. In the first place, Nasioi informants felt the term denoted a real change in social status; even emotional response was alleged to change in mo'mo.

Secondly, fosterage made a long-term change in the particular composition of two households. Given the relative independence of the household in production, consumption and other kinds of social interaction, such a change inevitably has a lasting social effect. (In this respect, differences of degree must be noted, depending on the geographical distance between natal and fostering households.)

Thirdly, and most important, fosterage affects adherence to, or affiliation with, an older and/or more powerful

person. That this kind of relationship is basic to Nasioi social organisation has already been implied and will be discussed further below. Mo'mo means a shift of this kind of affiliation for the child. The institution's social importance in this respect was underlined in two cases when the respective foster 'fathers' - both 'big men' and leaders of their mu-groups - made a prestation of food to members of the children's respective clans.

Differences in social and economic roles for the sexes are further emphasised at adolescence. If boys in fact enjoyed a life without responsibility as children, such a carefree existence is normative for the adolescent. A term commonly applied to boys in their late teens is abutoitoi ata nanu, which is most literally glossed as 'one who walks here and there'. However, the connotations are more clearly rendered by such American expressions as 'rolling stone' or 'ramblin' man'. These youths wander around the sub-district in search of amusement, particularly in the form of "singsing" and sexual liaisons. They are concerned with 'luxury' European goods such as guitars and ukuleles, flowered shirts, sunglasses and liquor, and with maintaining their personal appearance.

Although schooling to standard 6 is available at Tubiana, and secondary education at St Joseph's (Rigu) school, few boys in the Valley took advantage of this opportunity during 1962-64, preferring more fleshly delights. For a very few boys, particularly orphans who have no older man to assist them materially, school offers their only chance for either status or amusement, but the majority can do better by following the normal pattern.

Nor is wage labour particularly appealing to adolescent boys although many of them undertake it on a casual basis. Since unmarried youths have no dependents, and since regular employment interferes with the pleasures normally associated with adolescence, they are unlikely to stay at a job for more than a few months.

The life of the adolescent girl represents less of a break with childhood. She continues to garden and care for her younger siblings. It is my impression, although I lack extensive statistics to support the notion, that girls are more likely to continue at school than their male age-mates. However, girls marry younger than do boys, so their adolescent period is ultimately a shorter one.

The special experience which a girl may undergo is that connected with her (alleged) first menstruation. Celebrations

of this kind were held for one girl from Siromba and one from Sirambana during my fieldwork; in one case the girl was the eldest, in the other the only daughter. I observed part of the 'growing-up feast' and associated "singsing" for both girls.¹ At Sirambana, where the affair was held at night, the girl remained in the house during distribution of the food and the "singsing". I was told that the following night women carried her from the house into the "singsing" circle, where she and her 'aunts' were splashed with water. At the feast for Dorothea of Siromba, more people participated and the festivities were more raucous:

We left Rumba for Siromba at 1600 hours. The women of all ages were heavily burdened with baskets of food, so Timothy of Rumba, some little boys and I struck out ahead. I was carrying seven-month-old Antsi, who was a kind of 'guest of honour', Dorothea's father being 'grandfather' (perhaps genealogical FMMZS) to her. About half way, we met a big group from Bakatung. Four or five mature women playfully blocked our way, holding sticks like spears, but they let me and my companions through. They splashed water on at least some of the women following us. The combined group stopped to rest twice along the way. Just before we reached Siromba there was some discussion as to who should go first. It was decided that Timothy, Antsi and I should precede the others, so that no harm would come to the baby and me in any scuffle that might develop. We were followed by the young men, who broke off branches of bush to carry. (A male informant said later that this plant irritated the skin on contact.) We three gained the shelter of the Siromba tradestore just as a rain-shower broke. The Siromba women were hiding in the rear of a shed next to the store, and didn't come out until the young men shouted at them. Then a scuffle took place as the women tried to splash water about, while the young men tried to fight them off. This was not pure frolic for a young man of Bakatung, looking quite angry, pursued a matron and slapped her sharply with the twigs he carried. (I was later informed that the women had put a similarly irritating plant in the water they threw at the young men.) Then the people from Rumba and

¹ The exchange and distribution of food for Dorothea of Siromba is described in Chapter 7.

Bakatung formed a "singsing" circle, while Dorothea's father and other men arranged food for distribution. I discovered a group of women, all of whom were identified as Dorothea's 'aunts', behind her house. They were pouring water on her and rubbing her with leaves. (Informant, asked later about the leaves said: "Em i marira bilong ol meri, long mekim yungpela meri i kam bigpela": 'It's the women's special medicine, to make a young woman grow'.) Then the women splashed each other with water.

Adolescence also may involve a Nasioi in a new kind of exchange, in connection with sexual relations. While an adolescent boy's first heterosexual experience seems typically to involve his seduction by an older female, he soon becomes the initiator of affairs. To help him attract a girl he may employ 'love magic'. Such a substance (commonly in the form of a powder) can be purchased from the knowledgeable; the price in two recorded transactions was \$3.

Even after the girl has been attracted, liaisons are not easily arranged since the social separation of the sexes is so marked that any sexually mature couple (other than close kin) seen alone are assumed to be together for the purpose of fornication. (Indeed, one possible attraction of Tubiana school for a boy is the greater availability of potential partners and locations for trysts.) The services of a go-between are invaluable. I know of no Nasioi word for such a person; instead the Pidgin term "waiales" is used. A younger boy is commonly employed as a "waiales", but occasionally even a young married man may serve. In the latter case, it seems likely that the "waiales" derives vicarious sexual satisfaction from his role.

The "waiales" delivers messages, and either a present or the promise thereof, to the girl. The present may take different forms: tobacco, money, small items from the tradestore such as a cigarette lighter; in the case of my domestic servant, Francis, and the older girl, Anastasia, five pairs of European underpants. The modal value for such a present seemed to be from \$1.50 to \$2, but the present is neither necessary nor sufficient to achieve liaison. Thus Gerard sent \$1.90 worth of trade goods to Anastasia, only to have her fail to appear for a tryst. On the other hand, some women are alleged to be so fond of intercourse ("olsem kaikai long ol") that they ask for a present only after the assignation, if at all.

Such love-making is expected to yield to marriage, a union which has important economic consequences.¹ Indeed, the only answers informants provided to the question 'Why do people get married?' emphasised the economic aspect of the union: wives gardened and cooked, while husbands did the heavy work in preparing gardens and, in addition, provided cash for the tradestore goods that wives desired. Similarly teen-aged boys expressed reluctance to get married because of the economic responsibilities involved.

Marriage is connected with exchange among people other than the couple, however. It has already been suggested in Chapter 2 that 'big men' manipulated marriage to their advantage, and similar considerations operate today. Like the Choiseulese (Scheffler 1965a:158-9), modern Nasioi 'big men' have begun to change their ideas of what will enable them to live well, but marriage continues to serve as one means to this end. The bride's father, the groom's mu-group leader or some other man who has sufficient status and forceful personality undertakes the arrangements. Some specific examples of marriage arrangements follow.

Killian came from Guava census division with his brother to work for some of the indigenous planters in the Valley. (The Guava area is more remote and ecologically less favourable than South Nasioi.) He is an amiable, powerful and hard-working youth. Julian of Siromba considers himself something of an entrepreneur, having planted cocoa and established informal trade relationships with contract employees on Mangalim plantation. When a mutual attraction seemed to arise between Killian and Julian's young daughter, Dorothea, according to my informants, Julian arranged for the marriage without prestation from the groom 'because he knows Killian will work hard and take care of the girl'.

Sebastian of Kobeinan is a link in complicated new economic arrangements between the Koromira area and Rumba.² He is of Tankorinkan clan, as is Lambert of Koromira, Sebastian's 'uncle' (but not genealogical MB). Sebastian's wife is of Batuan clan as is Jude, Sebastian's

¹ See Ogan (1966b) for a somewhat different treatment of Nasioi marriage, including quantitative data from the sample villages.

² See Chapter 8.

'representative' in Rumba. Jude, in turn, is classificatory 'elder brother' to Lucretia and Marcella, whose father is dead. Lambert, Sebastian and Jude all became involved in arranging a marriage between Marcella and Lambert's classificatory 'son' from Koromira. However, these 'big men' (together with Charles, Batuan mu-group leader of Rumba) were frustrated when Marcella's remarried mother stuck to the traditional ideal of uxori-locality and refused to let the girl move to Koromira for marriage, which was Lambert's plan. Lambert finally yielded in 1965 and the couple were living in Rumba in 1967.

Louis, Bakorinko mu-group leader for Rumba, sent for Mark (also Bakorinko), who had been living in Kieta, to marry Louis's daughter. The union produced one child which died, but Mark left the girl to carry on a number of affairs, to contract another union and finally to join the Pacific Islands Regiment.

An older man who arranges a marriage can thereby achieve greater material wealth and/or prestige. Simply by virtue of having thus affected the lives of others, his status as 'big man' is displayed. Depending on the specific nature of the arrangement, he may also acquire an adherent and labourer in his son-in-law (e.g., Julian and Killian), or strengthen his ties with other 'big men' (e.g., Lambert et al).

The groom may also improve his economic or prestige standing. If his father-in-law has liquid assets or real property in terms of cash crop trees, the groom stands to benefit from his wife's inheritance. Alternatively he may profit from his mere association with the 'big man' (other than the bride's father) who arranged the marriage. In the unlikely event (I saw no such case during fieldwork) that the groom can make sufficient prestation to his parents-in-law to make a viri-local marriage possible, he achieves prestige in a traditional pattern. (Of course a groom, unlike a marriage arranger, achieves sexual gratification in marriage, although it has been demonstrated that this is not the only context in which he may do so.)

A single case history may clarify the analysis by describing in extenso the actual manoeuvres of a Nasioi 'big man', thus 'isolat[ing] some features that...are relevant to the analysis of the whole family of cases' (Geertz 1965:95).

Xavier of Mantu mu was born in about 1920 in a hamlet of what is now Sirambana village. His father was of

Tankorinkan mu; his parents and siblings all died before World War II. He married Natalia, of another Sirambana hamlet. In so doing, following the ideal uxorilocal residence pattern, he became an adherent of her father, an oboring. (Natalia's father's status as 'big man' is clearly attested by his violation of mu exogamy: both he and Natalia's mother were of Bakorinko mu.) Xavier was industrious and articulate. He acquired a knowledge of Pidgin English and became "tultul" of Sirambana after World War II. Xavier and Natalia had four surviving daughters and three sons, the seven ranging in approximate age from 4 to 18 years in 1964. In addition, Xavier fostered three orphaned sisters; the only kin connection traceable between these girls and Xavier was their father's membership in Bakorinko mu, the same as Xavier's wife's. The large number of females in his household assured Xavier of garden labour to provide vegetable food and, in turn, food for pigs to be used in feasts. Further, Xavier had as adherents Odo and Pelagius of his own mu, uterine half-brothers whose mother had died. (Pelagius' father was still alive in 1964.) Having married well himself, Xavier attempted to further enhance his status by arranging the marriages of others. Since he had planted coconuts and cacao on Bakorinko land formerly managed by Natalia's father, he now required male labour for these marketable crops. He matched his eldest daughter with Ronald, a boy of his own (Manta) mu. The boy came to live in Xavier's household even though he (Ronald) had coconuts planted in his home village of Bakatung. Xavier ensured the continued adherence of Odo by arranging the boy's marriage with the young sister of a school-teacher. The school-teacher, himself young and an orphan, had neither the status nor estate which would permit him to exert pressure on Odo to leave Xavier. At the same time, the school-teacher formed a potentially profitable alliance with Xavier. But Xavier's efforts were not always successful. He wished to match his adherent and mu-mate, Pelagius, with one of the girls he had fostered, but the boy did not find the girl sufficiently attractive. Pelagius married a girl he met at the mission school; after some indecision, the couple lived uxorilocally. Another of the trio Xavier had fostered was wooed and won by Mark, who is away for long periods with the Pacific Islands Regiment. The girl remained in Xavier's household with her small son, adding to Xavier's garden labour force. In late 1963 Mark returned on leave and

removed the girl and child to his mother's household in another village. Xavier complained that he should be compensated for the loss of the girl's labour but Mark - a truculent young man of no morals, either in European or Nasioi terms - prevailed. (Mark finally abandoned the girl and their son, and in 1967 she was once more living in Xavier's household.) Nevertheless, Xavier has manoeuvred his way to economic well-being and prestige, becoming a 'big man' in both traditional and modern senses of the term, and has utilised marriage as one means towards this achievement.

Discussion of marriage arrangements had indicated that the whole question of residence is a thorny one for Nasioi newlyweds. Even when an initial agreement is reached, the partner who changes residence may feel uncomfortable and visit his natal residence as often as possible. He may have specific responsibilities (such as caring for the coconuts he had planted) which draw him back. Otherwise he may be driven to the former residence for emotional support.

Observed marital strife almost always stemmed from either the failure of one partner to fulfil his or her economic obligations, or actual or suspected adultery. A middle-aged Rumba man, one of the most even-tempered in the village, was once roused to send nets, baskets and other utensils flying out of the house when he discovered that his wife had neglected to prepare food, preferring instead to listen to my radio. It more commonly happened, however, that a husband failed to provide his wife and children with such tradestore items as rice, tinned fish and biscuits, producing complaints and separations (although I have only informants' accounts of permanent separation or 'divorce' for this reason). Accusations of adultery, for reasons implied in the discussions of adolescence and sexual behaviour, occurred most frequently among young married couples.

Whatever the cause, divorce or permanent separation did not, according to informants, involve exchange of goods or services. The death of a spouse was the more frequent cause of marriage dissolution, and exchange became relevant again in the case of remarriage.

The probability of remarriage appears to correlate negatively with the widow(er)'s age and, as discussed above, the number of his or her children. (Of course, these two factors are negatively correlated with each other.) On the basis of limited evidence, one may suggest that economic and sexual needs operate to make remarriage desirable and statistically

normal, and that the decreased intensity of these needs (e.g., the waning of sexual desire in the aged) or their fulfilment by other means (e.g., the provision of heavy labour to an elderly but active woman by a grown son or other kinsman) serves to explain in part a failure to remarry.

Two further social factors may hinder remarriage. The first is the tradition of sikansiri; since I never observed this practice, I can add nothing to the description in Chapter 2. Second, examination of first marriage has shown the importance of a senior male in its arrangement. There is no such normative pattern for remarriage. Furthermore, there may be less incentive for a 'big man' to take a hand in remarriage: the variables (mature and presumably less impressionable participants, the problem of children and/or property produced by the earlier union) are less amenable to his control. Thus remarriage may be said to be more a matter for the widow(er) alone, without regulation by a social institution.

As a Nasioi ages to the point of physical debility, his participation in socio-economic exchange decreases in scope and changes in nature. Two social patterns operate to give the elderly some degree of security in terms of adequate food and shelter. The first and perhaps the more general pattern is that of affiliation with someone who thereby enhances his own status; no one could maintain his position as 'big man' if he refused to aid an elderly person who sought his help, offering in return such labour as infirmity permitted. Secondly, the behaviour patterns associated with kinship permit an aged man or woman to seek assistance, using such standardised formulae as Ameai, dauko ('Give to me, your mother') or Pakumeai, damaiko ('Help me, your mu-mate').

At the same time, the elderly are expected to, and do, make such productive effort as lies within their capabilities. In this respect, old women have more clearly defined activities than do old men. The former are particularly active in life crises: they assist mothers giving birth and are regular baby-sitters. They are the most visible participants in 'growing-up feasts', and they are notable wailers at funerals. On the other hand, old men more commonly withdraw to the hearth or outbuilding, there to occupy themselves with light tasks (e.g., bleaching snailshells for lime, twisting plant fibre into twine), to talk over old and perhaps better times, and to offer advice to younger men working nearby.

Death as a social event among the Nasioi has several dimensions. Funerary rites continue to constitute an occasion for

the distribution of food, with concomitant opportunities for the achievement and maintenance of prestige.¹ For a few villagers, particularly children not closely related to the deceased, death is a break from daily routine, almost an entertainment. In relation to the larger community, death may be analysed as a disruption of ordinary social relations, permitting new alignments, and/or changing the intensity of old associations.

The socially disruptive dimension of death therefore varies in intensity with the position of the deceased in the community, the suddenness and/or prematurity of demise, and any special circumstances regarded as causal. The more socially disruptive, the more likely it is that exchanges of visits from long distances and the provision of special foods for mourners will take place. Some exemplary material is provided in subsequent chapters.

Conclusion

Since this chapter and the two which follow tend to form a single unit for analytic purposes, an extended discussion of modern social life is not especially useful at this point. What should be apparent from the immediately foregoing material is that the social setting - especially in terms of clan and mu-group affiliation, the kinship idiom, and the social concomitants of events in an individual life cycle - constitutes a matrix in which economic activities are still embedded, despite changes from the traditional system.

This point can be exemplified by a brief recapitulation of Nasioi marriage. Modern marriage is not bound by a balanced exchange system. A whole variety of non-traditional alignments - especially connected with the cash crop economy - are now possible. Yet it is in marriage that the incompleteness of differentiation in the Aropa Valley becomes clear. The 'tactics' of marriage arrangement still rely heavily on kinship idiom, as when an older man chooses to bind his son-in-law with an additional tie of common clan affiliation, rather than such a purely material consideration as cash wages for work in the father-in-law's coconut plantation. If one may borrow and elaborate on a figure of speech without reifying it, the hypothetical 'seamless web' (Parsons 1966:37) of traditional Nasioi marriage has become sufficiently separated into distinct strands to permit the weaving of different patterns -

¹ This dimension is discussed in greater detail in Chapter 7.

but the present arrangements have not been created out of wholly new cloth. To shift the emphasis, the lack of complete differentiation is also revealed in the continuing importance of the 'big man' as a social role. New roles, such as that of school-teacher, already have some prestige, but 'big men' continue to dominate Nasioi social organisation. It is still the 'big man' who weaves the patterns, old and new, of Nasioi social life.

The problem to which this chapter has paid insufficient attention is that of differentiation without integration, partly because data are lacking for adequate comparison with traditional life. Clearly new social choices have developed, to conflict with both existing cultural and social sub-systems. However, the integration problem is particularly relevant to modern economic activities, to which the study now turns.

Chapter 7

Modern economic activities

This chapter examines those aspects of Nasioi life in the 1960s which may be classed as 'economic' because, inter alia, the Nasioi themselves apply such terms as 'work' (Pidgin "uaka") in their own categorisation. A new distinction appropriate to this chapter is that between those activities which involve the use of money and those which do not. This distinction is most clearly observable in an actual exchange, of course, but the Nasioi themselves may also draw the line in other contexts, such as designating a plot of ground on which food will be grown specifically for sale to the mission.

Not surprisingly, the monetary-non-monetary contrast is not always easy to maintain in description, since the argument that Nasioi social institutions are still but little differentiated from each other is most forceful in the degree to which, for example, cash exchanges remain embedded in kinship organisation, or production embedded in relations with the supernatural.

Finally, because of the interest expressed by administrators and other non-Nasioi, material on land tenure and inheritance is presented in a separate section of the chapter.

Production

Subsistence: gardens. Relatively little space need be devoted to the description of subsistence gardening since Nasioi practice is similar to that carried out by other Melanesians (Barrau 1958), and shows such great continuity with the past. One major change - the shift from taro to sweet potato because of the 1942-44 blight - does have effects other than dietary. Older men emphasised the greater effort required for taro production; however, this difference loses significance when compared to the introduction of steel tools, the transformation in vegetation cover from primary to secondary forest, and related changes.

A further difference in work organisation (contrasted with that reconstructed from informants' accounts) is that connected with the shift to cash crops. As will be noted below, coconuts and cocoa for sale require greater areas of cleared land than a household garden. Thus the modern pattern for clearing is a co-operative effort by men from three or more households. As the area cleared is adequate for several gardens before the cash crops mature, the 'manager' of the land (or planter of coconuts, cf. below) allots plots to a number of women. In four such cases observed, the largest number of plots allotted was nine, representing eleven households since in two cases mother and daughter gardened together although they occasionally cooked separately.

While women most closely related to the 'manager' or planter may have priority in claiming garden land, neither kin ties nor the co-operation of a male member in clearing is necessary for a household (represented by the woman gardener) to obtain a plot. In other words, granting garden land follows the traditional pattern, whereby a man shows his generosity and gains prestige by consenting to requests or voluntarily offering plots. Residence constitutes the single necessary qualification; no plots were granted to women outside Rumba.

Once the clearing procedure is complete, following the general sequence outlined in Chapter 2, women's gardening techniques remain traditional, except for such occasional use of metal tools as an iron rod instead of a sharpened wooden digging stick. Chapter 6 pointed out that gardening groups may unite kinswomen, but women frequently work plots alone, except for the dubious assistance of small children.

Typically women begin to leave for the gardens at about 7.30 a.m.¹ from Monday to Thursday, generally taking their babies and small children with them. A few women remain in the village for most of the day, depending on their mood, the state of their gardens, and the pressure of other duties, for example making sheets of sago-roofing-thatch. Those who stay behind may also take care of small children for women who garden.

¹ All time reckonings are the ethnographer's; in ordinary conversation, the Nasioi divide the day only into mata(ne) ('morning'), duagi ('noon'), kamuno ape ('afternoon', 'towards evening'), kamuno ('evening'), and mung ('night').



Plate 2. Digging sweet potato, the staple food crop



Plate 3. Clearing a new garden plot

Garden routines seem casual to the observer, although the individual tasks performed under a hot sun are fatiguing to Nasioi women and the ethnographer-experimenter alike. For any plot, most time is spent in weeding since planting generally requires no more than a single work-day, while harvesting involves taking just enough for two or three meals at a time. The major crops remain sweet potato, yams and bananas; individual women may grow a few tomatoes, pineapples, cucumbers, scallions and other greens for sale or for relish in household consumption.¹

Work in the gardens is interspersed with caring for infants and toddlers, with rest periods especially during the midday heat, and with occasional 'breaks' to look for small fish, shellfish and snails in nearby streams. Girls may join their mothers after Marai school is dismissed at noon. About 3.00 p.m. women begin to return to the village, stopping off at one of the larger streams to wash themselves, their produce and their children, and to fill bamboo tubes or other receptacles with fresh water. They cook the main meal of the day before the call to evening prayers comes at about 6.00 p.m.

Subsistence: pigs. A most notable break with tradition took place in the Aropa Valley, especially in Rumba village, in about 1960-61 when the majority of adult males became committed to cash cropping. The problem then arose as to the means of protecting young coconuts against the depredations of pigs, which traditionally were allowed to forage during the day.

Insofar as the decision-making process can be reconstructed from reports by the majority of Rumba men, apparently only two alternatives were considered. The first, that the new stands of coconuts be fenced as were traditional gardens, was rejected because the much larger area involved made the task too arduous. The larger hamlets of Rumba and those areas of other villages located on relatively level ground chose the second alternative: they gave up pigs altogether until such time as the coconut stands were well established. In 1962-64 only three or four adult pigs were kept in the most remote hamlets of Rumba, where the more rugged terrain - in which

¹ See Appendix B for a sample diet. The ideally strict division of labour between the sexes and the notion that a woman rules supreme in her own garden, limit the evidence available to the male ethnographer.

ditches had been dug for the purpose - could be utilised to confine the animals.

There is no evidence that Nasioi at this time seriously considered a third possibility: the shift of animal husbandry techniques to approximate the European pattern of penning pigs and providing all the animals' food. It seems likely that money was available within the village to buy fencing materials on a co-operative basis, had this choice been made.¹ It is not known if Administration officers suggested this new technique; however, Charles - the Rumba "tultul" and a leader of the move to cash cropping - reported that the "kiap" had expressed concern over the reduced meat consumption which would result from the villagers' decision. At any rate, Rumba men in rueful conversation frequently contrasted their 1962-64 situation with 'the good old days' when the village was noted for its pig feasts.²

Cash crops: coconuts. Chapter 5 noted that German and Australian administration efforts to encourage the planting of coconuts were sporadic at best, and ran counter to the traditional destruction of trees at funerals and teekira. Clearly villager-owned 'plantations' began in the South Nasioi area after 1950, but accurate figures are not easy to obtain.

A DASF patrol report dated 12 February 1959 estimated that there were between 70,000 and 90,000 'native-owned palms' in the entire South Nasioi census division, of which 20,000 were young palms less than eight years old. On the other hand, the DASF report for Kieta sub-district in 1965-66 lists a total for South Nasioi of 148,120 trees, of which 73,508 are reported to have been planted since 1960, suggesting that the lower 1959 figure might be more accurate.

Table 7.1 lists the village estimates obtained by a (then) Department of Native Affairs patrol report in November 1962.

¹ In 1967 'progressives' in Rumba, led by Jude, were experimenting with wire pig-pens, containing a few young pigs at some distance from the village. By this time the first new coconut 'plantations' were almost mature.

² Department of Agriculture, Stocks and Fisheries patrol report dated 12 February 1959, before the Rumba stock reduction, estimated that there were 2,000 pigs in the South Nasioi census division.

Table 7.1

Estimated indigenous-owned coconut palms,
by sample village, 1962

Village	Old	New	Total
Rumba	2,040	3,910	5,950
Sirambana	1,728	1,500	3,228
Bakatung	2,489	3,300	5,789
Siromba	707	700	1,407

Unfortunately the difficulty of estimating trees planted on irregularly-shaped plots in rolling terrain is compounded by the fact that a man's domestic residence, his residence for census purposes, and the location of his trees may vary independently.

This study has already commented on traditional Nasioi disinclination to deal with numbers larger than five, and will note below the present lack of experience in Western-style quantification. This does not, however, prevent individual men from attempting 'business-like' statements of their affairs. Thus Jude maintained a notebook for Rumba which in November 1963 listed a total of 7,184 trees owned by 24 men (counting Jude and Charles as one 'owner').¹ Holdings ranged from 63 trees for Charles' 'nephew', Gabriel, to 2,110 trees for Jude and Charles. A more reasonable idea of typical holdings is gained by eliminating the largest from consideration, in which case Jude's figures provide a total of 5,074 trees owned by 23 men, for a mean figure of 220 trees (range 63-436).² It is further worth noting that after Charles

¹ See p.166.

² According to information kindly provided by the then ADO in May 1965, the nine leading coconut planters in South Nasioi census division - none of whom lived in the four sample villages, Jude inexplicably not being included - had holdings ranging from 1,170 to 8,772 trees. The largest stand belonged to Sebastian of Kobeinan village (see Chapter 8). The remaining eight had holdings of from 1,170 to 3,000 trees (mean 2,048, median 1,589). DASf annual report (1965-66) listed 328 growers in South Nasioi, giving a mean holding of 451 palms.

(Maura's 'nephew'), the largest holdings are those of Maura's son, Bartholomew (360 trees), Maura's step-son, Louis (413), Louis' ZS (436), and an older immigrant from the coast who obtained land from Louis (390).¹

Figures in Table 7.2 for the other sample villages were drawn from a cash crop registry compiled by patrol officers in 1962. Since such registration is voluntary, not all growers may be listed. For whatever reason, the totals show some particular discrepancies when compared with other sources, but they are at least suggestive.

Table 7.2

Registered coconut palms, by sample village, 1962

Village	No. of owners	No. of trees	Mean	Range
Bakatung	1	2,053		
	17	3,472	204	60-7,000
Siromba	6	2,576	429	300-500
Sirambana	11	2,769	252	56-612

Most observations of clearing land for coconut stands were made of parties organised within Rumba village under the co-operative spirit of "bisnis" (q.v.). Such parties were large, and "bisnis" considerations cut across more traditional organising principles. Smaller parties of three or four men followed lines of kinship and age, so that younger men² generally worked with a father-in-law, an 'uncle' or a non-kinsman

¹ Jude's own figures as of 3 August 1966 listed a total of 12,015 trees for the same men. The only major increases were recorded for Jude, up 2,841 to 4,951 trees; Maura's son, Bartholomew, up 286 to 646; Bartholomew's mu-mate, up 288 to 467; and Charles' classificatory BS, up 572 to 751. (In the last case, there is considerable doubt about the accuracy of the figures.) In other words, the bulk of coconut planting continued under Jude's leadership (see Chapter 8).

² Throughout this chapter, 'younger men' are those adults under thirty years of age.

of their own age. Clearing labour was hired for wages from outside the village only, and most often from outside the Valley.¹

In those stands observed directly, coconuts were planted at the same time as women made gardens. Whereas several men might co-operate in clearing the land, the owner of the coconuts himself and the women of his household actually planted the young nuts; rarely did close kinsmen and women help plant. Except for Jude - who brought his first seedling coconuts from Kobeinan village - Rumba men took young nuts from trees previously planted by themselves or inherited. Coconut stands should ideally be spaced for successful growth, and villagers attempted to accomplish this by laying a bamboo pole out from the first of three coconuts to form a triangle of appropriate size. (However, the agricultural officer in 1964 indicated that the poles used were seldom of correct length so that trees were too closely planted.) Both older and younger men used the loan word "mark" to describe this process.

Once planted, coconuts require a certain amount of weeding and grass-cutting, lest other vegetation choke off the new sprout's growth. This is accomplished as a side effect of gardening so long as women are working in the area. Thereafter grass-cutting can be neglected for several months at a time, and then accomplished with the expenditure of a few consecutive man-days. This pattern of long periods of inattention to horticultural labour interspersed with short bursts of concentrated effort is consonant with traditional masculine subsistence production and further opens the possibility of combining wage labour for Europeans with copra production. Rumba men carried out their grass-cutting individually or with the help of one or two close uterine kinsmen; rarely younger men hired workers from outside the village.

Since, by the most conservative estimate, over half the coconuts in Rumba (and South Nasioi generally) were planted less than eight years before 1962, while a small but regular demand for food coconuts exists, copra-making took place infrequently during the period under investigation. For example, Rumba villagers produced copra from their own trees only six times between March and August 1964. On at least two other occasions during this period, people went from Rumba to make copra for Sebastian at Kobeinan and Lambert at

¹ Cf. pp.143-5.

Koromira.¹ All copra was smoke-dried in small, thatched smoke-houses. The number of these smoke-houses at Rumba varied over time since they were allowed to fall into disrepair when not used, and one burned down in 1964. There were never fewer than four in the neighbourhood of the larger Rumba hamlets (A, B and D in Appendix A). Each house was described by villagers as belonging to an individual. However, it should be noted that each of the four mu which boasted the most adult male members (Kuraban, Bakorinko, Batuan and Tankorinkan) had at least one smoke-house associated with one of its number and, in fact, use of each smoke-house followed mu lines.²

Copra-making, like grass-cutting in coconut stands, was organised along close kin lines - except where "bisnis" was in operation. The uniform Rumba pattern involved the households of two adult members of the same mu (typically 'brothers' or 'uncle' and 'nephew') with an occasional 'affine' or more distant kinsman. Both sexes carried out the simple tasks of carrying coconuts to the smoke-house, splitting them and putting them in the upper section of the house, building and watching the fire, and bagging and carrying the copra to the road for pick-up. Of these tasks, the first may involve the greatest expenditure of man-hours, depending on the number and location of the fallen coconuts. The actual smoking process requires three days per 'house-load'.

The various tasks were carried out in an atmosphere of sociability, in contrast to those associated with subsistence gardening. Among the possible reasons for this different ambience, the mechanics of the operation are clearly important: copra-making is most effectively carried out by a larger group than that minimally required for gardening (and no tradition exists for separation of the sexes in this introduced operation), and at least some of the tasks - such as splitting nuts - permit conversation in a seated group. Further, in no case did I discover any payment by the owner of the coconuts to those kinsmen who helped him make his copra; in two cases, helpers explicitly described their aid as tamung pakuko ('helping for nothing').

¹ Cf. p.144.

² The senior man of Barapan in Rumba associates himself with Charles and Gabriel, and used Gabriel's (i.e., Batuan's) smoke-house.

Figures for copra production were available only inferentially since that produced by most individual Rumba men was weighed at the purchaser's establishment (European plantation or Chinese tradestore), and villagers were reluctant to disclose the amount of money received. Figures for a half-dozen sales ranged from \$25 to \$35, at a price of 4c to 4.5c per lb. This suggests that typical output for a productive 'session' was 625 to 875 lb of smoke-dried copra.¹ Attempts to relate these figures to man-days are still more problematical, given the many variables (e.g., distance nuts must be carried to smoke-house) involved. However, Table 7.3 lists what appears to be a plausible estimate for a 'session' as described above.

Table 7.3

Typical man-days in copra-making session

Task	<u>Labour</u>		Time involved
	M	F	
Collecting nuts	3	3	2-3 days each
Splitting nuts	3	3	1 day each
Supervising smoking	1		3 days
Bagging copra	2-3		1 day

Nevertheless, even these estimates should be viewed with caution: a Nasioi 'work-day' as actually observed varies considerably in length and physical activity. Thus a day spent splitting coconuts does not require the same expenditure of energy as one spent collecting nuts, although Nasioi themselves may not make these distinctions in saying, 'We worked one week making copra'.

Cash crops: cocoa. Villagers began to plant cocoa in the South Nasioi census division in 1952 with the encouragement of European plantations, especially Mangalim. The nature of the present study does not encompass technical details of agronomy, but certain general contrasts must be drawn between

¹ DASF patrol report dated 12 February 1959 estimated copra production for the entire South Nasioi census division at 7 to 10 tons per month. DASF annual report (1965-66) estimated total South Nasioi indigenous production for that year at 206 tons.

coconuts and cocoa. The former can be successfully raised under much more varied conditions than the latter. Cocoa requires shade as it grows, so shade trees must be planted along with the cocoa (or cocoa can be interplanted in existing coconut stands, as on European plantations). Because of the shade requirement, cocoa is not successful on ridges or steep slopes. Cocoa trees produce in 4 to 5 years, coconuts in 7 to 8. Cocoa pods must be cut when the trees are in 'flush', unlike coconuts which can be split for copra throughout the year, more or less at the producer's convenience. Complete production of cocoa for shipping involves fermenting and drying processes, which require more complex equipment, more skills and more continuous attention than smoke-drying copra. Finally, although prices have fluctuated sharply in the 1960s, cocoa has consistently been a more profitable crop - at least for European plantations - than copra.

The 1959 DASF patrol report estimated that there were 22,600 cocoa plants in the South Nasioi census division. Table 7.4 shows the number of cocoa trees listed in the November 1962 DNA patrol report. These figures are somewhat difficult to interpret since - as noted above - location of trees, domicile and residence for census purposes may all be different. Thus Titus resides in Rumba, and raises cocoa with his brother, Vincent. Both are on the Siromba census roll, and 500 cocoa trees are listed under Titus' name in the 1962 cash crop registry for that village. Two men, married uxorilocally in the more remote Rumba hamlets, had extensive cocoa holdings near Kurai village, outside the Valley.¹ The cash crop registry showed no cocoa listings for Rumba, but Table 7.5 gives figures for the other sample villages.

Table 7.4

Estimated indigenous-owned cocoa trees,
by sample village, 1962

Village	Old	New	Total
Rumba	1,660	93	1,753
Sirambana	650	600	1,250
Bakatung	947	0	947
Siromba	1,000	0	1,000

¹ One of these men listed 890 cocoa trees in Jude's August 1966 accounting; the exact location of the trees appeared to be between Rumba C and Kurai.

Table 7.5

Registered cocoa trees, by sample village, 1962

Village	Growers	No. of trees
Bakatung	2	196 400
Siromba	2	500 each
Sirambana	3	672 500 100

The technical aspects of cocoa cultivation are directly relevant to these figures. Because of the care the trees require, DASF provides as a guideline that a man-and-wife team should attempt to develop initially a $2\frac{1}{2}$ -acre, 500-tree holding, with the possibility of working up to a 15-acre, 3,000-tree holding which they could maintain by their own efforts plus those of two adult males (e.g., their grown sons). In fact, it appears that 500 trees approximated the typical 1962 holding in the sample.¹

Obviously cocoa growers represented a minority of Aropa Valley men: 7 compared to 53 coconut growers in the four villages if one employs the admittedly incomplete figures from the cash crop registry. Ownership of cocoa trees was generally associated with greater Europeanisation, as indicated by long-term contact with a European employer and/or fluency in Pidgin. All cocoa owners listed had coconut holdings above the mean, suggesting personal qualities of industriousness.

Since I was able to observe directly only one instance of cocoa-planting during 1962-64, my description is inferential and generalised. The whole process of cocoa-growing practised by Nasioi seems to involve fewer workers than copra-making, so that the typical work force might have been one or two households, rarely supplemented by younger male assistants.

¹ DASF annual report (1965-66) listed 207 cocoa growers and a total of 111,485 trees in South Nasioi census division. According to the May 1965 report from then ADO, the 6 largest cocoa growers in South Nasioi (none in the sample villages) owned a total of 11,451 trees (mean 1,909, range 1,000-2,500).

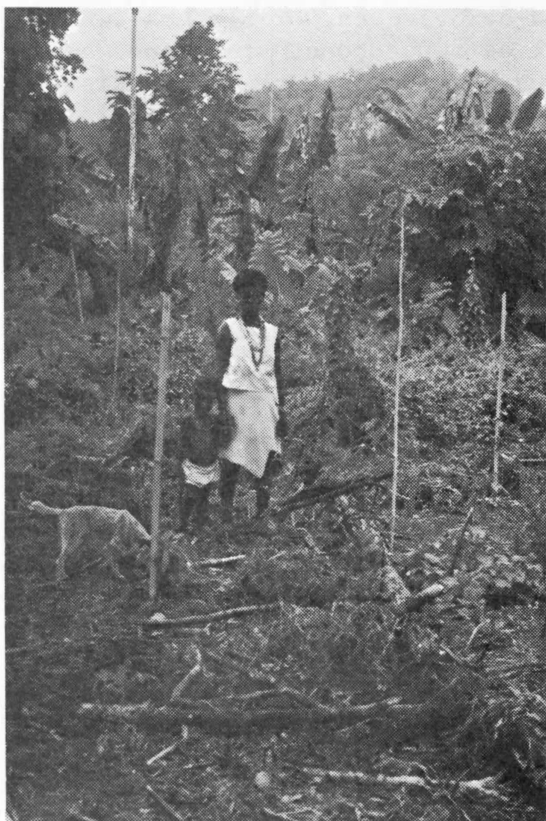


Plate 4. Staking out
cocoa plants in a new
garden



Plate 5. A villager-built cocoa drier

Such young helpers were used by Sylvester of Siromba (who registered 500 cocoa as well as 500 coconut trees and was employed for most of the study period as cook in the Kieta hotel) and by Xavier of Sirambana (whose registered holdings numbered 668 cocoa and 612 coconut trees and whose manipulation of kin ties in the economic context was described in Chapter 6). Cocoa production figures are even more ephemeral than those for copra, but the data in Table 7.6 on sales of wet beans to Mangalim plantation in June and July 1964 are suggestive.¹ Clearly the voluntary crop registry is incomplete. The special case of Titus and Vincent has already been explained; suggestions as to the reluctance of some others to register are mentioned below.²

Table 7.6

Sale of wet beans to Mangalim plantation, June-July 1964

1964	Village of registry	Individual	Trees registered	Wet beans (lb)
June	Siromba	Vincent	0	90
		Dorothea	0	10
	Sirambana	Xavier	672	60
	Rumba	Theodore	0	30
July	Siromba	Titus	500	215
		Vincent	0	148
		Sylvester	500	60
	Sirambana	Xavier	672	40
		Remo	0	15
	Rumba	Theodore	0	59
		Urban	0	30

In all these cases was illustrated what was apparently a general principle in the sample villages: regardless of work

¹ These figures may be compared with those provided by a European employee of Mangalim for March-October 1963, listing purchases from Rumba, Siromba and Sirambana totalling 6,616 lb of wet beans at \$191.35. This employee's book-keeping was only slightly more impressive than Jude's. DASF annual report (1965-66) estimated dry bean production for South Nasioi at 57 tons.

² See pp.159-60.

organisation, the individual regarded as owning a tree collects the proceeds, subject to possible later distribution. Since cocoa production is a household or close kin affair, no further distribution of money seems to have taken place. Of course, the prevailing price of 3c to 3.5c per lb for wet beans did not produce results for any of these transactions which would arouse great envy.¹

Cash crops: miscellaneous. Since there is no difference in work organisation or techniques between subsistence gardening and production of vegetables for sale, usually at the Kieta air strip, such sales are included in the discussion on monetary exchange.²

Other production. For the sample villages, gardening and production of copra and wet cocoa beans were the most routine and most time- and energy-consuming activities which, during 1962-64, could be reasonably described as economic production. Women and, especially, men also engaged, on a casual basis, in hunting, fishing, foraging, and craft production. However, the villagers themselves usually described only the last-named as a kind of work, except when the first three were carried out to meet a request from outside the village (e.g., from the mission). Given the intermittent, casual nature of such miscellaneous production, only a sketchy treatment is provided.

Only men and boys hunted birds, opossum and feral pigs, and they uniformly described such forays as pleasurable (except afterwards if an injury resulted). Almost all able-bodied men in Rumba hunted pig during 1962-64 but only a few (4 of 10 in Rumba A) were described as 'real hunters', regularly maintaining snares in the bush and keeping a pack of dogs for this purpose. Certain individuals were laughed at for neglecting subsistence or cash crop horticulture in favour of hunting, but there was no necessary conflict between being a good hunter and a good provider in other ways. For example, 3 of the 4 'real hunters' in Rumba A were also active in cash

¹ The potential for much increased cash income from cocoa, provided Nasioi-owned fermenting and drying machinery were available, was a factor in the formation of an indigenous co-operative society which some residents of the villages joined in 1967. Further, by 1966-67 prices for wet beans ranged from 4.5c to 5c per lb.

² See pp.145-7.

crop production, although they eschewed wage labour for obvious reasons.

Armed with spears, bow and arrow, and bush knives, men hunted individually or in pairs (accompanied by dogs), except when certain that a feral pig was nearby. A cry for assistance would be raised, or a boy sent back to the village, when help was needed to kill and/or carry back the pig. In all the 8 or 10 cases observed, the pig was cut up by a man other than the successful hunter, and a portion given to each household in the hamlet. (In the case of smaller hamlets, distribution was as wide as the available meat would permit.) Smaller game was usually consumed by the hunter's own household; he might invite a friend or neighbour to partake.¹

Only when the mission asked that food be gathered for a special occasion, such as the dedication of a new church building, did groups of men from the same hamlet hunt at the same time. Fishing was even more a casual, individual affair; only once during 1962-64 did a number of Rumba men dam the Aropa River in main stream, preparatory to a fish drive. This effort was interrupted by a death and funeral, so the drive's failure may have been atypical. Men fished with spears, which were purchased in Chinatown and powered by pieces of inter-tube, or, rarely, with home-made bombs made of firecrackers jammed into bottles. I saw few fish of any appreciable size taken, but men were more successful in catching large freshwater eels. Women's quarry were freshwater crustaceans, taken by seining with hand-nets. Women particularly fished on Fridays and Saturdays, which were generally regarded as days of respite from gardening. Fishing, indeed, was very much a social occasion for women; pairs or small groups who gardened together (e.g., mothers and daughters) would also fish together. The crustaceans were eaten by the woman's household or sold to any Europeans who might be in the vicinity.

Foraging did not occupy much time for adults of either sex. Areca nut was the most sought product; however, informants insisted that the palms were individually owned, so perhaps 'harvesting' is the appropriate term. Since the nuts grow

¹ I was probably invited more often than any other individual in Rumba A. Hunters gave me birds in exchange for money, tobacco or flashlight batteries. My household received a portion of pig in the same manner as any other.

far above the ground, obtaining them was a task for men and boys. The product was regarded as so valuable that scuffles - friendly and not-so-friendly - took place when someone brought a nut-laden branch back to the village. Women could and did obtain the snails from whose shells lime was made. Both sexes fired and pulverised the shells in a process which took most of an hour but required little energy. Ingredients for betel-chewing were a standard form of hospitality, and figured in many exchanges (see below). Canarium almonds were gathered seasonally by both sexes, but especially women and girls.

Craft production was extremely limited in the four sample villages¹ and was normally done for the individual's personal or household use. Most time was devoted to making sago thatch for roofing. After palm fronds were gathered and the midribs removed - tasks performed by both sexes - a man worked for almost an hour to produce a sheet 8 to 10 ft long and 20 to 24 inches wide. The number required for a roof varied, of course, with the size of the house and the degree of thickness desired, but a reasonable estimate was forty sheets. Except where called upon to do so by a European authority (e.g., building a new church at Marai, the thatch for which occupied most Rumba adults for three days in 1964), villagers did not ordinarily attempt to make more than 8 to 10 sheets during a session of one or two days, but stored their work against a time of need.

House-building in the villages was such a protracted exercise, involving one or two days' work followed by weeks during which the builders were otherwise occupied, that no realistic man-hour figures were obtained. A man built his own house, with limited assistance from others. The group of two or three men who were necessary to fell and carry heavy trees for the foundation and frame was normally the same group which co-operated in such tasks as copra-making; that is, close uterine kinsmen or affines. In two cases in Rumba A, a widow needed a new house. Gabriel built his mother's small dwelling. Charles - the deceased Nkei's classificatory affine who had taken Nkei's oldest daughter in fosterage - built a house for Nkei's widow with the grudging assistance of the widow's father, who normally avoided

¹ Cf. p.38 where it is suggested that traditionally Aropa Valley people 'specialised' in food and forest products, and exchanged these for craft products.

such tasks. House-building is facilitated by the possibility of using portions of an older structure; frequently whole walls of split bamboo were thus transferred.

Except for house-building (including thatch manufacture), craft production was on such a small scale as to be easily overlooked. Only a few old women made mats, while basketry from Kongara was preferred to local manufacture. A man might take a day to shape a new axe handle; old or sick men whiled away the hours making or repairing nets into which feral pigs could be driven. A few individuals had 'specialities': one man knew how to make small clay pipes of a type seen in nineteenth century caricatures of Irishmen; another fashioned palm-rib arrows of better quality than the norm. Still, most of this work took little time or energy, and was performed irregularly for personal use.

Thus production in the villages studied might be summarised by saying that women regularly worked four days a week gardening (and in a few cases, caring for cocoa trees); fished, foraged, or made lime, baskets or thatch during the rest of the week; helped to make copra and carried cocoa beans as required; and regularly performed a variety of common domestic tasks (cooking, child care, washing clothes for themselves and children, etc.). A man had many more alternatives: no task required continuing attention, except for the short periods of breaking cocoa pods in a 'flush' or supervising a fire in the smoke-house for a three-day period. A man might, as did my next-door neighbour in Rumba A, spend 80 per cent of his waking hours walking through the bush, visiting, hunting for small game, and gathering areca nut. Or he might, as Jude is described as doing,¹ carry out a heavy schedule of planting, copra-making, house-building, store-keeping and praying.

Production was very much an individual or household affair. Certain tasks, such as house-building, which seemed often to have been group enterprises traditionally, were more often handled by the domestic unit during 1962-64. Traditional methods of organising tasks under the direction of a 'big man' had been adapted, instead, to "bisnis".

Exchange

Non-monetary. A number of exchanges of services or goods not involving the use of European money have been briefly

¹ See p.166.

described in earlier sections. Other exchanges, non-monetary but carried out in the context of "bisnis", are noted below. This section attempts to present some additional data on the kinds and quantities of goods and services, and the occasions on which they are exchanged.

Informal exchanges of services, or services for goods, occurred daily between individuals. The most common (at least two or three occasions per week in Rumba A) was the exchange of child care for the daily meal: one woman, typically older and childless, cared for a toddler while the child's mother went to the garden (or to the river for crustaceans). When the mother returned in the evening she brought back enough food - which she might cook herself or give uncooked to the 'baby-sitter' - for the 'sitter's' household as well as for her own. This exchange could follow kin lines if a 'grand-mother' were available, but there were in Rumba A four women between 40 and 60 years old who happily performed this service for any mother who so desired.

The small production group of men (usually close uterine kin or affines) might also be regarded as exchanging services among themselves. However, the respective needs of individual members were often such that a junior member's 'return' was delayed past the period of fieldwork. Nevertheless, in answer to the question, 'Why are you helping him?' informants' statements such as 'Because he's my "uncle"', or 'For nothing', might be followed by 'Some time he'll help me'. When a group of men helping, for example, to build a house, had an ad hoc character and did not regularly co-operate,¹ the assistants normally received a meal on each day they worked. (Sometimes the meal included such luxury foods as rice purchased at a tradestore; thus the line between monetary and non-monetary exchange is blurred.)

An incident occurred in 1964 which casts some light on patterns of exchange, and on ambiguities arising in the modern situation.

A Nasioi teacher at Marai school helped to organise the construction of a new church at Marai, where priests from the mission in Kieta regularly said Mass on tours of the parish. All the surrounding villages (including those in the sample) were to participate in the

¹ Such ad hoc groups were usually composed of men under thirty whose work habits were erratic.

construction. Work on the church was stretched out over some six months; Rumba's share of the thatch alone took approximately three 'entire village work-days' as noted above. About forty men representing the villages of Rumba, Sirambana, Siromba, Bakatung and Nasioi assembled one day to construct the framework. So far as I know, this represented the largest work force operating on a single day: frame construction requires more hands at a given time. The women of Bakatung had prepared several baskets of cooked sweet potato and taro, plus a pot of stewed greens as a relish. The sixteen Rumba men were invited to eat, but they were reluctant to step out of the light rain into the shelter where the food was laid out. While such reluctance is typical at feasts, when Titus finally took the containers of food over to the others, Eustace made an angry speech, so rapid and forceful I could not follow it. When I asked him later about the incident, he said that Bakatung's action was konto dea ('not straight', i.e., inappropriate). Such exchange of food for construction work should be made when the structure is an individual's dwelling. Eustace felt that Bakatung men implied the Rumba contingent would return home to find no food waiting for them. (He further complained that the work involved in building the church, together with the Thursday road maintenance demanded by the Administration, kept men from their regular [sic] work.)

Points to be noted include: the services asked by the mission in exchange for education and spiritual guidance are sometimes regarded as excessive; social change is causing disagreement about 'appropriate' exchange behaviour; food is regarded as an appropriate return for services on some occasions.

Sahlins (1965:170-4) has noted the special qualities of food in exchange situations, and certainly for the Nasioi food has a symbolic importance observable in many contexts. The most striking use of food as a major social symbol is the production and distribution of ta'ma. Ta'ma is a special dish of fritters of banana, yam or manioc, very lightly cooked in coconut cream. Production of ta'ma involves a notable amount of labour relative to many Nasioi activities, since the separate tasks required are numerous: collecting coconuts, scraping, grating and kneading coconut meat for cream, boiling bananas, etc., mashing bananas, etc., in a special churn (kaaku) with a long pestle (tuukinu),¹ rolling the mashed

¹ This is the most strenuous task in ta'ma production since the pestle must be lifted until one's arms are extended above



Plate 6. Making ta'ma

fruit into round or sausage-shaped portions, which are dipped in coconut cream, and cooking the ta'ma for five to ten minutes, frequently turning with fingers dipped in coconut cream. Both sexes made ta'ma, normally as a household enterprise, and the total process required at least one man-hour.

1 (continued)

one's head, then brought down with a thump into the churn. Mashing is often performed by men and, if a large quantity is being prepared, a 'platoon system' is employed. I can personally attest to the notable physical strain involved.

Although prepared for feasts, ta'ma was more often served to a few invited guests within the village. The host(ess) did not partake, although his children might do so. When asked, informants rarely gave a reason for its preparation at a particular occasion. Rather, Sahlin's (1965:147) term 'dues'¹ is appropriate to making and giving ta'ma. Making ta'ma and inviting others to partake constituted a recurring payment of 'social dues' to the community, and those who most often 'paid' in Rumba were either villagers with established high prestige to maintain (e.g., Maura's sons, Bartholomew and Anthony) or those who - because of physical or personality handicaps - paid few other 'dues' or met few other social obligations. Younger men might help to make ta'ma but were never observed acting as hosts.

Although as Sahlin's (1965:147) notes, a counter to such prestations may not take material form, ta'ma was part of an exchange: those who ate thereby acknowledged their host's good standing as a member of the community. Thus, to refuse the invitation constituted a marked disruption of social equilibrium, as I discovered on one occasion when physical and psychic distress made me rebel at forcing down "gris", to use the Pidgin word Nasioi themselves apply to ta'ma. I never repeated the mistake.

Exchanges still took place to mark events in an individual's life cycle.² These were most frequently informal affairs in which older women gathered before a child's house, sang, and splashed the child's 'aunt(s)' with water. The child's mother gave three or four areca nuts and, occasionally, a coconut or two to each of the celebrants, but the items distributed were provided by the child's father. Such 'mini-growing-up feasts' observed directly took place on an infant's first trip to the gardens, a child's first trip to the river to seek crustaceans, a pre-pubescent girl's first trip outside the Valley for a "singsing", and children's first rides on trucks or tractors.

Only three large-scale 'growing-up feasts' for which the nominal occasion was an event in childhood, were directly

¹ 'Dues' is analogous here to the expression used by American jazz musicians in the 1950s, as 'You gotta pay dues, man'. The implication is that each member of a group has a wide variety of obligations which must be met if he is to retain membership and, indeed, self-respect.

² Cf. Chapters 2 and 6.

observed. One is noted in Chapter 6.¹ A second was given by a Rumba man in honour of his eldest son, six years old, who was to 'eat pig for the first time', i.e., formally participate in a feast. This affair was largely confined to Rumba villagers, although several guests came from Sirambana, together with a few Papuans from the sawmill. The host was assisted by his own and his father's clan-mates; thus, a Bakorinko man worked with Bakorinko and Tankorinkan men of his own village on a feast ostensibly honouring his Kuraban child. One pig, obtained from a remote hamlet as part of a long series of exchanges (phrased as paroro which some informants glossed "kaikai", others "dinau"), was killed, cooked in an earth oven, and distributed to guests along with parcels of ta'ma and baskets of sweet potato. This Rumba 'growing-up feast' seemed a particularly convivial one, with the emphasis on night-long dancing and relatively informal distributions of food.

The third large-scale feast was given in Nasioi village, and followed a pattern very like the traditional kinds of prestige feasts described by informants.² Again the nominal guest of honour was the host's son, about seven years old; however, Rumba villagers agreed that the host was discharging several obligations by means of the feast. Seven pigs were reportedly killed (I observed three being distributed), which the host had accumulated within his own village. The first of these, said informants, was eaten by those who lived in the host's hamlet. Three pigs were said to have been distributed earlier to all those who had helped prepare the feast by gathering firewood, yams, etc. The remaining three were taken from a pen before the assembled guests, killed, cut up by two men from Rumba and one from Siromba,³ and allotted on the basis of one pig to each of the villages of Rumba, Siromba and Sirambana. Rumba men of Batuan, the host's mu, stated that this discharged an obligation to the (Batuan) wives of Eustace and Remo, who had much earlier presented three pigs to the host.

In addition to the pork, a wooden frame had been set up on which were hung several mats, and about two dozen baskets of yams. The distribution of these items clearly reflected the

¹ See pp.105-6.

² Cf. Chapter 2.

³ These men simply volunteered, perhaps to be centres of attention; that is, there was no obvious kin, sib or village alignment, except that all three were guests.

discharge of obligations to the Batuan women cited: Eustace distributed pork, Remo yams, and Eustace's wife the mats and baskets, attempting an equitable distribution among the guests from Rumba, Siromba and Sirambana.¹

Two 'growing-up feasts' took place on the occasion of menarche.² While I did not make a complete study of that for Remo's daughter in Sirambana, it was certainly a small affair, directly involving the villages of Sirambana and Rumba, and the Bakorinko and Kuraban clans - those of Remo and the girl's then betrothed. Food distributed by Remo's household consisted of dishes of cooked banana with some tinned fish (eaten at the time) and a few coconuts which were taken home by the guests. Coconuts were distributed to households rather than to individual guests.

The feast for Dorothea, as indicated in Chapter 6, was a much larger affair, aligning Siromba as host village against Rumba and Bakatung as guests. At the clan level, the primary elements were Bakorinko (Dorothea's father, Julian, the nominal host) and Kuraban (Dorothea). Two kinds of exchange might be analytically distinguished: one direct and one of 'generalised reciprocity' (Sahlins 1965:147).

Shortly after the guests arrived in the afternoon, a few Bakorinko and Kuraban men from Siromba and Rumba laid out two parallel rows of boards near Julian's house. While some women engaged in the ritualised treatment of Dorothea noted earlier, and younger men and boys danced in the usual "singsing" circle, older men and women laid out food parcels - Rumba's and Bakatung's nearest Julian's house, Siromba's opposite - and supervised the exchange. Rumba and Bakatung guests brought an estimated 70 (I counted 59, but the exchange had already begun) food baskets, Siromba an estimated 40 to 50. Each basket (roughly made of palm fronds, for ordinary carrying) typically contained several sweet potatoes and/or taro, plus a tin of mackerel. Some

¹ The traditional nature of this feast may have been underlined by the fact that, although I was assigned a 'bench of honour' (on which I could doze during the all-night affair), the Nasioi village feast was the only one in which no special portion of pork or other delicacies was set aside for me by the host.

² See pp.105-6.

baskets also contained leaf-wrapped parcels of ta'ma. In addition, small piles of coconuts and small bunches of areca nuts were laid out on each side. Representatives of the guest villages stripped the row of Siromba baskets first. Since there were fewer Siromba baskets, some of the guests simply took back their own food. According to Rumba informants, this reflected greater prestige for the guests. (Of course, both Rumba and Bakatung have larger populations than Siromba.) Informants reported that late at night two pigs belonging to Julian were killed, one for each of the guest villages. However, because of some animosity created during the earlier scuffles between the sexes,¹ many Bakatung men left without their share of pork, which Rumba men carried to Bakatung the next day.

Exchanges ideally prescribed at marriage may not always take place.² Alternatively one might say that the groom could exchange his continuing labour on his father-in-law's behalf for his bride, as well as for freedom from other kinds of prestations. Where the more traditional form still occurred, informants reported that the content of the groom's prestation had changed to money and goods purchased with money, especially "laplap" and other clothing. Some of these are described below. On only one occasion did I directly observe a food exchange associated with marriage, at Daratui village:

Thirty of us from Rumba went to Daratui and remained approximately two hours. While the younger men sang, others ate ta'ma and saltwater fish [presumably obtained by exchange or cash purchase from beach villages] and opossum cooked in an earth oven. Then the bride's father (Tankorinkan) presented baskets of food to Charles (Batuan; wife is Tankorinkan) who in turn distributed them to Rumba guests. Rough baskets contained large quantities of taro, some bananas, some yam, a tin of mackerel, plus a few areca nuts. These baskets were carried home. Informants stated that the food was supplied by the groom to the bride's father, who had invited guests from Rumba.

No 'head feast' of the traditional kind described by informants was observed, although one exchange of pigs was 'explained' in this context: a Sirambana man of Bakorinko clan presented a pig to Oliver of Rumba E. Informants said

¹ See p.106.

² See pp.108-9.

this was a kind of 'head prestation' for the man's long-deceased mother, also Oliver's 'mother', perhaps genealogical MZ. Oliver was expected to return a pig at a later date to close this exchange. Since both these men were Bakorinko, the exchange could not effect any transfer of property between clans as 'head feasts' sometimes did in the past but might be regarded, like other kinds of balanced (if delayed) exchange, as maintaining social ties.

Exchanges at the three funerals observed in Rumba varied in scope according to the social impact of the respective deaths.¹ Thus no exchange was noted for the infant Karepa, while some food and areca nuts were given by Nkei's clan-mates to visitors who drifted into Rumba after the funeral. In sharp contrast, people attending Antsi's funeral from as far away as Kobeinan village on the coast were treated to a large amount of rice, tinned fish, tea and biscuits.² Further, two pigs were provided by Oliver, the 'uncle' of Antsi's father, Edmund, at the behest of Edmund's mother (Oliver's 'sister'). Pork was distributed to visitors from outside the Rumba hamlets, except to a few of Antsi's distant kinsmen who were Seventh Day Adventists. Particular attention was paid to offering pork to Remo of Sirambana, a 'big man' who called Antsi's mother 'grand-daughter'. The provision of so much pork reflected concern by Edmund's close kin over his violating norms by running away with the widow, Demetria, and refusing to return when first notified of Antsi's illness.

Teekira in more or less the traditional form took place only once during fieldwork and was not observed directly. The occasion was an adulterous affair. Rumba men from Bakorinko, the offended husband's clan, reportedly destroyed the husband's chickens and carried off the mature fowl for their own later consumption. That the practice of teekira is indeed fading, as stated by a few informants anxious to disavow "pasin bilong bipo", is suggested by a 'pseudo-teekira' which took place after Bartholomew was beaten by two youths regarded in negative terms by other Rumba villagers.³ Some of Bartholomew's Tankorinkan clan-mates from Unabato village invaded Rumba two days later at midday when most villagers were in the bush or gardens. They chased and shot arrows at all the chickens in sight, and brained a dog belonging to a

¹ See p.113.

² Cf. p.169.

³ Cf. pp.152-3.

Bakorinko man. Two boys sitting in my house (avoiding any possible brush with the shouting Unabato crowd) were quick to point out that this was the 'wrong way' to make teekira, since the invaders were damaging everyone's animals, not Bartholomew's.

Some extra-Valley exchanges of goods and services took place; the most numerous and significant of these are discussed in the context of "bisnis".¹ One additional exchange worthy of note was largely monopolised by Siromba village, whence Julian had established a number of contacts with Mangalim plantation. Siromba men, with a few close kin from Rumba, exchanged areca nut for tobacco, received as regular issue by New Guinean contract labourers. The exchange was carried out at approximately bi-monthly intervals at the plantation itself. Julian and his associates could not provide a definite schedule of equivalences; one may suggest an approximation of one branch with six nuts for one stick of twist tobacco. Further, one suspects that while tobacco is desired by Valley villagers,² the exchange was essentially a social occasion, valued as a chance to visit as well as to obtain goods.

To summarise: modern non-monetary exchanges in the Aropa Valley showed both continuity with and change from traditional patterns. Both 'balanced' and 'generalised reciprocity' (Sahlins 1965) continued to operate and, as in the past, 'generalised reciprocity' or unbalanced exchange could establish or maintain greater prestige for the more generous party. Food retained a pre-eminent place in exchange, in terms of both quantity and symbolic value. Exchanges took place between individuals, between households, between mu-groups, between villages, between coast and Valley, and between Nasioi and non-Nasioi. Continuity with the past was most clear-cut in bauta ('growing-up feasts'). Change was especially notable in connection with marriage exchanges, where (a) the demands for labour in cash crop production made a groom's continuing services more important for 'progressive' fathers-in-law than traditional feasts, and (b) such prestations as were made increasingly took the form of cash or goods purchased for cash. Finally, social change was sometimes reflected in disagreements over what constituted appropriate behaviour in exchange.

Monetary: wage labour. Chapter 4 indicated that, since the established plantations like Mangalim depended on contract

¹ See pp.164-72.

² Cf. pp.148-9.

labour, Valley men could be hired as casual labour for wages on the two new plantations, Kavivi and Bikmoning, at the sawmill and on Administration road gangs. In addition, the "bisnis" at Kobeinan hired people for copra-making. Wages ranged during 1962-64 from 60c to 70c per day on road gangs, and from 70c to 80c on plantations and at the sawmill. Kavivi paid "bosboi" up to \$1 per day. All the European-managed enterprises normally operated on a five-day week.

In general, men in the sample villages worked for wages on a short-term basis only. Of the 20 able-bodied Rumba men between the ages of 17 and 50 with whom I had most contact, only one was employed (at the sawmill) for most of the field-work period.¹ Three others held jobs for periods of three to six months at a time, while 15 had casual jobs lasting not more than one or two months at a time - sometimes only a week elapsing before they were fired. Ten of these men had as their longest job experience during 1962-64 a five-week stint maintaining the airstrip, supervised by a Buin man who had married locally. This job, although paid by the government, was in its daily routine like working for a fellow villager. Thus it could reasonably be said that villagers avoided work for Europeans.

There was, further, a predictable negative correlation between ownership of producing cash crop trees and wage labour. Ambrose, the long-term sawmill employee, had married into Rumba village and been denied more than a small plot of land on which to plant coconuts. (However, Jude's coconut trees were supposed to be inherited by Ambrose's children.²) When cocoa trees belonging to Sylvester of Siromba began producing, he left his job as Kieta hotel cook to devote himself to their management. The four Bakatung men - including one "bosboi" at Kavivi - and two or three Sirambana men who worked longest for Kavivi were all young and not yet involved with their own cash crops.

Four Rumba women worked one or two days per week for a few months in 1964, maintaining the yard in front of the Kavivi plantation house. They were paid 70c per day, but the novelty

¹ A total of four young men worked for me as cook-domestic servant. Only one worked for more than five months, and his eleven-month stint was broken in the middle by my trip to Australia.

² Cf. p.166.

soon wore off and/or their work proved unsatisfactory to the "missis". Otherwise, Valley women did not work for Europeans.

Villagers also worked for other Nasioi, on the one hand, and hired indigenous labour from outside their own villages, on the other. The complications involved in such exchanges illustrate a point more fully developed below: no widely accepted norms existed for these monetary transactions among Nasioi, or between Nasioi and Nagovisi. Perhaps because of the potential for social disruption within the village if disagreements arose over wages, and/or in keeping with a traditional notion that greater prestige accrued to a man who had outsiders working for him, in five cases villagers in the sample hired Nagovisi (one case) or Kongara (four cases) men for clearing land (three), copra-making (one) and house-building (one). During fieldwork, no instances were directly observed of labour being employed for cash wages within the village, although informants reported some cases.

In both kinds of situation (i.e., villagers hiring outsiders or other villagers), questions arose as to proper wages. For example:

Callistus, then working at the sawmill, hired two Nagovisi to build his new house. He provided them with food, soap, tobacco and matches, yet he sought my opinion (I had none) as to money wages. When he offered them a sum working out at 30c per day, they left without notice.

Timothy, a Micawberesque step-son of Maura, hired two Kongara men to make copra for him. Although I did not observe the payment, Timothy insisted he had, in effect, divided most of the money he had received for copra between the two workers. Whether true or not, the statement reflected a traditional attitude about return for labour, emphasising generosity to gain prestige, which conflicts with European economic practice.

Three informants told me separately that the ne'er-do-well Edmund had 'hired' two other Rumba men - his 'uncle' Oliver and the son of a clan-mate - to make copra for him. Edmund sold two loads through Sebastian acting as middle-man. Contrary to his promise, he gave nothing to the two helpers. When the third load was smoked, Oliver went directly to Sebastian and said that the payment (expected later) must be made to him, Oliver. Edmund, hearing of this and knowing when the payment was to be made, himself went to Sebastian, saying Oliver had sent him to collect the money. After

Edmund collected, he did not face the two helpers, but gave \$1 each to their respective wives, saying he would use the rest to buy food and drink for the helpers. In fact, the food and drink he bought he consumed with his brother and other orderlies in the Kieta hospital.

Jude might be regarded as representative of a new pattern, since he paid his labourers from outside the village 60c per day¹ plus food. This might have been regarded as more satisfactory than plantation work, since the cash wages were only slightly smaller (and the same as those for road gang labour), while the pace and negligible supervision were more in accord with village routine. Nevertheless, grumbling was heard in the Valley that everyone, Nasioi or European, should pay at least 80c in cash as a daily wage.

Sebastian was most often the employer when Valley men worked for Nasioi outside their own villages.² On at least one occasion, Rumba villagers were paid for making his copra: three men received \$8.80 each, and three women \$3.20 and a half-stick of tobacco each. On the other hand, two Rumba men who gave two months' work to their clan-mate, Lambert, at Koromira stated that they might (sic) later receive \$40 (approximately 80c daily for a five-day week) but the money was not paid during the fieldwork period.

One specialised - almost unique - service was regularly sold to Nasioi for cash and, on one occasion during fieldwork, to the owner of Kavivi plantation. The "kukerai" of Siromba was a renowned healer of bone and muscle injuries, deriving his power - according to village informants - from a familiar 'spirit'. The going rate to Nasioi for his services, which resembled Western chiropractic, was \$2 for treatment(s) of an injury. Two Rumba residents availed themselves of his services during 1962-64.

To summarise: villagers in the sample, with a few exceptions, did not undertake wage labour for Europeans for sustained periods; when hiring other Nasioi (or non-Nasioi indigenes) for cash, they were more likely to hire workers from outside the village; when they worked for other Nasioi

¹ This was the rate that Edmund's brother was reported to pay his clan-mate, Casimir, for three weeks' work planting cocoa near the coast.

² His operations are described on p.164ff.

for cash, they worked in villages on the coast; no widely accepted norms existed governing wage labour by one Nasioi for another.

Monetary: goods exchanged for cash. Copra and cocoa sales have been noted above, and are described further below.¹ The major source of cash for Valley women was the sale of vegetables to Europeans. Products were either carried to the airstrip (a walk of over one and a half hours from Rumba) on days when the plane came from Rabaul; or villagers were periodically alerted to a visit by the Rigu school tractor, when quantities of sweet potato and other tubers were purchased.

Unlike the SDA women who regularly walked down from Daratui on 'plane day', women in the sample villages ignored the airstrip market (Pidgin "bung") for most of my fieldwork,² and sold in the Kieta "bung" on Saturday morning only in connection with a visit to Tubiana mission. Older Rumba men themselves contrasted unfavourably the SDA zeal for money ("olsem ol Australia") with the attitudes of their own women. Not until April 1964 did Rumba women begin making the trip; their sales seemed to average about 50c to 80c. Those women who began and continued regular trips to the "bung" were, without exception, widows or the wives of men who - for reasons of age, or other factors - participated minimally in monetary exchange. That is, although villagers never so stated, women who went to the "bung" were³ those who would otherwise have had little access to cash.

The airstrip "bung" in 1964 was not a market set by pure supply and demand functions. Europeans in Kieta regularly made explicit their refusal to pay more than what they regarded as a 'fair price' for produce. (Insofar as I could

¹ See p.170.

² Of course, I provided a market close at hand. SDA women did not offer me produce for sale, although such sale might have saved them a long walk. Whether this reflects reluctance to enter a Catholic village, or a preference for the novelty and sociability of the airstrip scene, I cannot say.

³ This pattern continued in 1966-67, although more women participated, there was more demand for produce, and a woman's typical return seemed to be between 70c and \$1.50. Not every seller went every 'plane day', there being four planes a week in this period.

tell, this 'fair price' seemed to refer to prices in Australia many years before the Europeans came to Papua New Guinea.) Sellers set prices according to tradition and/or what they hoped to get. A European buyer accepted, or made a counter-offer; if the seller hesitated at the counter-offer, the sale fell through.

Purchases by the Marist Brothers at Rigu were irregular: in the first place, the school had its own gardens, plus a supply of other foods from mission stores. Secondly, the Brothers followed a policy of buying from different villages along the Aropa Road so as to 'share the wealth' and to avoid disrupting domestic consumption in the village. (Villagers also were expected to provide food for their respective children at Tubiana school.) Furthermore, ever-present problems of transport and communication disrupted purchases, for example when the message to prepare food for pick-up was garbled so that too much was prepared, or it came from the wrong village.

In 1964 Rigu was paying 1.5c per lb for sweet potato and other tubers. The then head of the school stated that he formerly paid 2c per lb, but received so many complaints from other Europeans (mostly planters) that he was inflating prices that he cut back to the 'traditional' rate - another example of 'imperfect competition' in the Valley.

A half-dozen sales recorded during fieldwork suggest a typical income of 50c to \$2 per seller. The norm that the producer receives the return operated with girls of ten or twelve years of age, who collected their 50c for their own use (including purchase of items shared within the household). One large purchase by Rigu is worth citing for the light it sheds on the confusion which could arise in any monetary transaction in the sample villages.

Bartholomew brought back from his Sunday trip to the mission, payment for foodstuffs sent into Rigu the week before. He had been given \$32.10 and a piece of paper with the names of women and amounts owing to them. Jude and Eustace attempted to work out distributions, even though Jude can barely read and Eustace not at all. It was discovered that some of the name-tags had been torn from the baskets of food on the way to Rigu, so seven women were not listed to receive money. The men thought of splitting up the total to include these seven women, but decided that the other women would object. After a long, heated discussion, it was decided that Bartholomew and Timothy (whose wife

was one of the women left out) should take the money back to Rigu and explain the matter. I was asked to type up an explanation in standard English which the two might present to the Brothers. Bartholomew and Timothy returned late that afternoon. They had been given separate payment for the seven women, a paper indicating amounts, and instructions from the Brothers that I was to handle the distribution. I did this with Timothy looking on; then Timothy informed me that the original piece of paper had been lost, presenting a problem in distributing the \$32.10. The following day, Jude and Eustace - working from memory with several other men looking on - distributed the \$32.10 to the apparent satisfaction of all. The average amount received was \$1.50, the highest \$4.60.

Only a few other kinds of goods were sold by Nasioi for cash. Most important in terms of monetary value per transaction was the sale of pigs. Five transactions recorded involved sale from a remote hamlet of one village to another village; the price for four of the five was \$12, for the fifth, \$15. The occasions were essentially ad hoc, for example to settle a dispute within the purchaser's village. A unique transaction occurred when Rumba bought a pig from Kokadei for \$12, apparently out of simple desire for a pork feast; each participant contributed 20c. The transaction was organised by Jude, Charles and Eustace, the latter two's households providing vegetable food. Infrequent exchange of other goods for cash involved 'love magic',¹ a woman's sexual favours,² and bows and arrows (at the rate of 30c a bow and 10c for a bundle of arrows).

Since the foregoing sections cover the major sources of cash for villagers in the sample, some mention should be made of total money income, before discussing consumption patterns below. The point has been made several times that Nasioi are much more secretive about such data than about, for example, their sex lives. Furthermore, the range among individuals and households must necessarily be so great that generalisations are of limited value. It may well be that the then ADO was correct in 1964 when he said (Denehy n.d.:1) that the average adult male income for the Kieta sub-district was \$40 per year. However, this figure, like per capita income figures for industrialised nations, has no more than the

¹ See p.107.

² See p.107.

grossest sociological significance, as in comparisons with other Districts in the country.

Thus my able-bodied but indolent next-door neighbour had a cash income of no more than \$10 during my eighteen months of fieldwork; Ambrose probably earned over \$200 during the same period (the sawmill operators took vacations during which the mill was closed), while the biggest copra producers in the sample villages might have earned as much as \$300. In addition to more or less regular sources such as those discussed, windfalls complicated the picture. For example, shortly before my arrival compensation paid for coconuts destroyed when the airstrip was enlarged brought sums ranging from \$71 to \$146 to one Siromba and three Rumba villagers.

Finally, the following sections will suggest that - whatever the cash incomes available to Valley villagers - the uses to which this money was put offer some sharp contrasts to European-style economics.

Monetary: purchase of goods for cash. During 1962-64 villagers in the sample made almost all of their purchases in one of the local retail stores: in Chinatown, in a plantation store, in the Koromira mission store, or in one of the "bisnis" stores (which, in turn, had obtained stock from Chinatown). The major item in terms of cash value was European food, especially rice, tinned fish, tinned meat and sweet and salted biscuits.¹ On the other hand, the indispensable item which had to be purchased for cash was clothing, since this could not be produced in the village. An expenditure of approximately \$2 was required to keep a Nasioi adult 'decently' clad (i.e., two "laplap" at \$1 each or two pairs of shorts at the same price). Beyond this minimum, individual expenditure varied widely, but almost every female had at least one blouse (40c to \$1) for church attendance, while children who went naked in the village also needed European garments for such occasions.

Twist tobacco was at least as necessary to individual satisfaction in the village as European food or clothing, since even small boys who were unconcerned about their nudity wanted to puff on pipes. However, the actual cash expenditure was certainly smaller for most individuals, and was, during fieldwork, kept smaller by my presence in the village. When

¹ See Appendix C.

purchasing produce or casual services, I offered a choice of cash or tobacco at the rate of one stick or 10c.¹ A sample week's record shows the high value placed on tobacco (see Table 7.7).

Table 7.7

No. of transactions when villagers chose

Items exchanged	Tobacco	Money	Both (2 sticks + 30c)
Eggs	2	5	
All other	13	3	1
Total	15	8	1

After the 'basics' of food, clothing and tobacco, consumption of which varied from household to household, patterns of cash expenditure ranged widely as to amount and nature of goods purchased. A few rough generalisations may be listed.²

Villagers spent very little cash on what Europeans would regard as 'capital goods', i.e., those used for production. Admittedly the tools required for village production are few and simple, although greater efficiency could have been achieved by purchasing fence wire, corrugated iron for smoke-house roofs, etc. In any event, men preferred to use traditional materials where possible, and to resharpen, fashion new handles for, or borrow tools, rather than buy them. The most expensive 'capital' purchase recorded was one saw for \$2.

Luxuries, by European standards, and novelties were widely sought by those who had the cash to buy them. The largest expenditure by an individual I recorded was \$58 for a radio, purchased from Rabaul (with my help in writing out the order) by the son of Siromba's "kukerai", the clerk for Mangalim's tradestore at Siromba. My presence and ownership of the items stimulated the purchase of such goods as a telescoping umbrella at \$24 and plastic buckets at \$1 to \$2. Fads (e.g., Hong Kong-made 'aloha' shirts) especially attracted young men.

¹ This was standard practice, and the price charged in trade-stores. However, by buying in bulk I paid less per stick and therefore gave each villager the option.

² Appendix C provides some detailed support.

Liquor was regularly purchased by only a few young men in each village,¹ but these individuals spent huge sums, relative to prevailing wages, on drinking. (The price of a bottle of whisky was roughly the same as a week's casual labour wage.) Edmund spent an average of at least \$3 per week on liquor in 1964. Often this was money he collected from other youths, who would be able to consume only a fraction of what they paid for, leaving the rest to Edmund and a few others of equal capacity (Ogan 1966a).

Individuals - as young as ten years of age² - had considerable autonomy over their cash purchases, but were still affected by norms of kinship behaviour. These norms operated most strongly within the household. Chapter 6 has reported that marriages sometimes foundered if a husband failed to provide European goods and food for his wife and children. No responsible parent could ignore the pleas of his or her small children for sweet biscuits or tinned fish. Indeed, some Rumba parents made mock complaints about their four- or five-year-old's demands which, they implied, must be met.³ Even younger ne'er-do-wells spent some of their cash on items for the household, although the percentage of income might be smaller than that spent on liquor. Beyond the household, the most commonly recognised claims were those of aged uterine kin of both sexes with limited access to cash, who successfully entreated young men to buy such items as pipes in the tradestore.

Monetary: other exchange. The most frequent example of the use of cash or goods purchased for cash in traditional kinds of exchange was the addition or substitution of European foods in life cycle exchanges (e.g., Antsi's funeral). Informants agreed that cash was regularly used in those cases when traditional kinds of prestations were made by the groom

¹ Expenditure on liquor has continued to increase since 1964 as alcohol has become an accepted part of feasts given on traditional occasions. Women in coastal villages had begun to drink, reportedly to excess, by 1967.

² See p.146.

³ It does not seem too far-fetched an analogy to note the similarity to nouveau-riche (or even nouveau-bourgeois) families in the United States, where parents 'bemoan' the expensive tastes of their children - at the same time emphasising their own ability to indulge those tastes.

and his kin before marriage. No accurate figures were obtained, however, since the reported transactions were carried out privately, and each party had strong prestige motives to inflate (groom's side) or deflate (bride's side) the sums involved.¹

Cash was also used in a traditional exchange context to mark the settlement of disputes. This took the form of a direct exchange of a small sum between the disputants: in four cases in Rumba the sums ranged from \$1 to \$2. Nasioi informants stated that the practice was traditional ("pasin bilong kanaka")² but used the Pidgin phrase "sek han" in discussing it. Another kind of "sek han" occurred at departure, when the individual made a balanced exchange of money (from 20c to 50c in the few cases noted)³ with his friends who stayed behind.

While such monetary exchanges are at least rooted in tradition, the practice of paying compensation (without return) for a delict seems to have arisen since European contact became extensive. The most obvious factor operating in this innovation is the introduced European legal system, exemplified by the ADC's court in which fines are sometimes imposed for violations of Native Regulations, and in which offenders are sometimes directed to make restitution to their victims under threat of imprisonment. The payment of cash compensation in cases which are kept within the village or between

¹ I do have more substantial data from a later series of transactions carried out by my Rumba cook-domestic servant, who married a girl from Domakung village. During the period June 1966 to December 1967, he spent a minimum of \$75 in gifts of cash and goods for the girl and her immediate family, and in hiring labour to work in her father's cocoa stand. This orphaned youth had no 'big man' to assist him in his courting: such an adviser might have kept the prestation at a lower level.

² Cf. Chapter 2 for such balanced exchange in terms of funeral feasts and revenge killing.

³ A Catholic priest and a former ADC received much larger sums of cash from their respective supporters when they left Kieta in 1967. Whether a return of some sort was expected is not known; however, the ADC simply handed the money back. Other long-resident Europeans commented that he should instead have used it for a party for the original givers.

neighbouring villages, however, involves two other considerations.

The first point, which has already been made but which cannot be repeated too often, is the vacuum existing in village social control. On the one hand, anti-European feelings were so strong that only a minority of villagers would willingly take a dispute to the "kiap".¹ On the other hand, traditional methods of social control (most particularly sorcery and the fear thereof) had been grievously undermined by all the social changes (e.g., medical services and lowered mortality rates) brought by Europeans.

Closely connected to this point is the villagers' own distress at their unsatisfactory situation relative to the Europeans they saw around them. Efforts to remedy the situation frequently took the form of 'cargoism'.² 'Cargoism', in turn, often included the idea that a new morality must be operative if the desired benefits were to be achieved. Such morality, to the Nasioi, included the elimination of quarrelling, obscenity and slander, and villagers said that a system of compensation of fines must be maintained to punish those who failed to meet the new standards. Indeed, Paul Lapun - the political figure who was regarded as a kind of 'cargoist' leader by many Valley Nasioi³ - was regularly cited as the authority for this system.

Since there was no more effective means than public opinion to enforce the system, much talk was generated in the villages (especially over cases of gossip, in which \$6 was the figure commonly quoted as appropriate compensation) but only one case was observed directly:

When Edmund and Casimir beat up Bartholomew in Rumba, not only was a "sek han" of \$1 exchanged, but Edmund paid unreciprocated compensation of \$2 to the older man. In this instance, public opinion was united against the two youths as it rarely is in intra-village quarrels, there were threats of reprisals from Bartholomew's clan-mates outside the village,⁴ and

¹ This reluctance disappears in the case of conflict between adherents of different missions, or between Nasioi and non-Nasioi.

² See p.174.

³ Cf. Ogan (1965 and 1970b).

⁴ Cf. pp.140-1.

there was the possibility that the case would otherwise be brought before the "kiap".

Monetary: savings and investment. In considering the foregoing material, an important question remains: what percentage of cash income was retained by Nasioi villagers, and how was this percentage saved or invested? Data on this question are most inadequate since part of the answer is that, given the demands for cash already noted as frequently placed on an individual by others, it is to a Nasioi's advantage to retain some money of which he alone has knowledge. It seems safe to say that, except for the youngest and most frivolous, every adult Nasioi male with any cash income had such a secret hoard, ranging from \$1 to as much as \$100 or more. The evidence for this contention is indirect but includes the following:

When three separate fires destroyed Rumba houses, the male head of each household bemoaned the loss of sums ranging from \$20 to \$80. The exact sum may well have been exaggerated, but the statements were not openly doubted by other villagers, and the existence of a cache of some size seems certain.

In special situations, such as payment of head tax or contributions to "bisnis", older single men who neither worked for wages nor made copra produced the requisite cash.

Administration and banking officials stated that much more cash was brought into Kieta each month than could be accounted for in all recorded transactions, including records of European enterprises.

Nasioi regularly appeared with old forms of currency - pre-World War II coins perforated in the centre or over-sized banknotes - which have not been in general circulation for years.

Whatever the amounts hoarded, villagers in the sample were unwilling to use European savings institutions. Practical considerations played a part here: for most of 1962-64 the closest banking facility was operated in the DNA office in Kieta, manned by a European clerk regarded by members of all races as notably irascible and inefficient. Thus a Valley man would have to make a long walk in order to deposit or withdraw funds, and then might wait hours (or overnight, if he went to the office in late afternoon) before the clerk deigned to notice him.¹ But more important reasons for the

¹ Kavivi's owner acted as agent for a savings bank and in 1967 a regular branch bank was opened in Kieta. There seems

failure to bank were ignorance of the processes involved, and general mistrust of Europeans. Indeed, Rumba informants were quite firm in stating that, whenever a clerk was transferred, he simply took the deposits with him to Australia. Only Charles in Rumba had a bank account in 1964, connected with the "bisnis" tradestore, and containing \$110.

Villagers in the sample, then, were willing to invest only in their own "bisnis". They rejected shares in co-operative societies. When a meeting was called in 1963 at Mangalim plantation to offer shares in the planter-managed Bougainville Company, offered for sale in \$10 blocks, Rumba men remained silent until they could give loud vent to their scorn in the village. (Other Nasioi purchased stock, however.) The significance of these attitudes is explored further below.

Land tenure and inheritance

Land tenure and inheritance among Aropa Valley Nasioi represent new procedures, with new precedents continually being set. Not until after World War II were severe physical or social pressures felt on land and its products. Further, these pressures have been inflated in Nasioi minds by their belief that Europeans have taken their lands without compensation. Consequently individual informants are frequently more vehement in specifying 'the traditional system' than is consonant with the total information available to the investigator.¹

1 (continued)

to have been no increase in use of such facilities by villagers in the sample. However, SDA workers at Kavivi early embarked on savings programmes and, according to the plantation owner, some individuals have accounts of several hundred dollars; a few maintain savings on loan accounts in Australia. I began a savings account for my cook-domestic servant in 1966, but he withdrew all the money after my departure to use in his marriage prestation.

¹ Bougainville Copper's arrival in Bougainville has understandably increased Nasioi concern over land tenure problems to the point at which any statement about 'customary land tenure' must be treated with the utmost caution. See Ogan (1972) for a slightly different treatment of this subject. One might accept a priori the contention that traditional patterns of land tenure varied among Nasioi speakers or, alternatively, that some groups within the total body of Nasioi speakers retain more of the 'traditional system' than do others. However, given the tension existing during 1966-69, statements by Nasioi in the Guava census division are particularly suspect.

A reconstruction of traditional patterns indicates that:

primary rights to land were established by utilisation (most commonly, clearing for gardens); these rights were exercised by men, although women's opinions were not ignored;¹ these rights were ordinarily transmitted through localised clan-links; primary rights could be transferred to the deceased owner's surviving children (normally sons) upon their prestation to their dead father's clan-mates; secondary rights, especially those of making gardens, might be acquired through any combination of kinship and/or personal loyalty ties.

Questions of inheriting property other than land rarely arose because the durable possessions produced by simple technology were few, and because of the practice of destroying property - including houses and productive trees - at the death of the original owner.

Intensive cultivation of coconuts and cocoa began in about 1952. As many of the trees planted have yet to mature and most of the planters are still living, modern patterns have yet to be thoroughly tested in troublesome cases. At this point one can only sketch the possible outlines of a modern Nasioi system of property rights; to do this a limited amount of case material must be intensively exploited.

Land tenure and ownership of productive trees are inextricably connected in the present situation, yet the ramifications of this were not clear to every Nasioi male during 1962-64. The following case, which relates to material presented in Chapter 2, reflects this ambiguity.

When Maura died, his son, Bartholomew, by presenting a 'head feast' to other Batuan men, assumed rights claimed by Maura over a tract of land about a half-hour's walk from modern Rumba. This land remained uncleared until 1963. In 1962 the boundaries of Bikmoning were established adjoining (according to Nasioi, encroaching on) this tract. Diego, Bartholomew's 'nephew' (like him, of Tankorinkan clan), was a man of many years' experience with European employers. Although residing in

¹ The oft-quoted reply of Nasioi men to Europeans that 'We can't say anything; the ground belongs to the women', must be regarded as a ploy to evade unwelcome pressures, although the statement symbolically underlines the importance of uterine kinship.

Daratui village, he had no rights there in land on which he could plant large stands of cash crops. He therefore asked his 'uncle', Bartholomew, who allowed him to plant cocoa trees on the tract near Bikmoning.¹ Diego presented no goods or money for these rights, although Bartholomew vaguely indicated that Diego would share proceeds from cocoa sales. Informants agreed that Diego's trees would, on his death, be inherited by his own children, of Barapan clan. The ambiguity is seen in comments by Charles, the leader of Batuan mu-group in Rumba. He accepted Diego's rights but indicated that the part of the tract not yet planted 'belonged' to the toddler, Jacob Maura, the original oboring's 'grandson' (or perhaps 'great grandson') of Batuan. At the same time, he admitted that a Batuan youth then in the PIR might also have a claim on the tract.²

From an analytical point of view, the case shows two de facto transfers of land rights with a minimum of formality and, therefore, maximum potential for conflict. Bartholomew's 'head feast' was the only compensation paid as rights to the tract went from Batuan to Tankorinkan. Since future administrators will almost certainly accept ownership of the trees by Diego's Barapan children as prima facie evidence of land ownership, a second transfer, from Tankorinkan to Barapan, will have been effected. Judging from statements by Charles and others, any future conflict is most likely to arise between Diego's children and claimants from the Batuan mu-group in Rumba, the 'original owners'.

While this case is a particularly interesting one for its complications, no conflict has yet arisen. A similar case concerns a tract between Rumba and Siromba, managed in the past by the Bakorinko father of Siromba's "kukerai" (Barapan), the healer and ally of Mangalim's plantation-owner. The "kukerai" claimed that a dispute arose over his rights to the

¹ Although Bartholomew did not say so, other Rumba men reported that villagers were eager to clear and plant in this general area in order to preclude further encroachment (sic) by European planters.

² In 1968 the section in question was being planted by Eustace, father of Jacob Maura, the 'heir'. The Batuan youth, discharged from PIR, had planted another tract of land adjoining that planted by Jude near Rumba.

tract, but the "kiap" decided in the "kukerai's" favour. He then granted a Barapan man from Kongara (a half-day's hard walk away) rights to plant coconuts on one section. As the pressure of land increases, conflict will almost certainly arise over the Kongara villager's claim.

Two instances of actual disputes were recorded in some detail, each illustrating a different facet of the problems developing for the Nasioi.

Oliver asked me to write up his side of his land dispute with Nilus. Oliver contended that Nilus was from Kongara and had moved into the Valley when his mother married a Bakorinko man there. Nilus, of Batuan mu, had been given some Bakorinko land to cultivate but was now laying claim to a larger tract. Further, said Oliver, Nilus received compensation [of \$111, according to Administration records] for coconuts destroyed when the airstrip was enlarged but, even though the trees had been planted by Bakorinko men, he failed to distribute the money to living Bakorinko in the village. Nilus had planted coconuts on Bakorinko land but refused to allow Oliver, himself a Bakorinko, to take any fallen nuts. According to the genealogy I obtained from Nilus, his mother was from Guava, but he himself was born near one of the Rumba hamlets. His father had been a 'big man' and had taken as a second wife a woman from his own sib. Nilus' own first two wives had been Bakorinko. That afternoon Nilus came down from his remote hamlet to sit on the veranda of his daughter's house in Rumba A. Oliver, his brother, mother and 'sister' - all Bakorinko - sat around the Rumba trade-store opposite Nilus and argued the issue. All other villagers withdrew from the scene. Later Oliver's 'nephew' reported that Nilus had admitted that he was in the wrong, and promised that he would not make such claims in the future.¹

In this case the conflict clearly stems from rights derived from matrilineal kinship versus those derived from patrilineal. Oliver represents the 'traditional' viewpoint that matrilineally inherited rights are more important. Nilus was not sufficiently sure of his position to carry the matter further.

¹ In 1966 Oliver was on sufficiently friendly terms to name his eighth child after Nilus. Later developments are described in Ogan (1972).

The second dispute is similar to the first in that locality is a significant consideration in assessing rights; however, the claims of one party derive not from descent but from marriage.

Julian, a Bakorinko man from Siromba, sent a note in Nasioi to Osanna, the Bakorinko wife of Urban, a Siwai living in Rumba. The note, which had been written by Julian's step-son, recounted a dispute over cocoa. Julian had sold cocoa to Mangalim which Urban claimed that he, Urban, had planted on land belonging to his wife. Julian argued that the cocoa had been planted by him on his own land. Julian further accused Urban of taking coconuts belonging to him. My cook's view was that the land was indeed Julian's but the cocoa had been planted by Urban and belonged to him. The coconuts, on the other hand, had been planted by Osanna's first husband, a Barapan man, and thus belonged to her. Charles, the Rumba "tultul" supported Urban in the controversy and further argued that Julian, too, was an 'outsider' in relation to the particular tract in question and - a point he seemed to regard as crucial - so was Julian's wife. While he was certain that Julian would lose a court case, Urban wished to avoid taking the matter before the "kiap".

Points to be noted here include: Julian's claim appeared to be based on clan ties, but Charles' position was that such ties are localised, so that a man can only make undisputed claims to clan land in his natal area; Osanna's rights to the tract in question were based on localised clan ties; the principle that a man owns trees which he has planted was unquestioned, but the potential problems of a man's rights to plant cash crop trees on his wife's land was not explored; the reluctance to take the matter to the "kiap", together with the lack of legal institutions within the village, meant that no real settlement was reached. Julian must have felt the weight of public opinion against him, for during my field-work he never again took cocoa from this stand.

Two cases illustrate the problem of maintaining rights to land when one no longer resides in the area.

Bartholomew went from Rumba with his elder daughter to North Nasioi, whence came Bartholomew's wife, a Kuraban woman. Men there had planted cocoa on some Kuraban land to which Bartholomew's wife and, through her, her daughters laid claim. When he returned Bartholomew reported that he had successfully

negotiated an agreement: since it was unlikely that his daughters would ever return to work the tract themselves, the planters would satisfy their claims by paying them a [unspecified] share of the cash proceeds when the trees began to produce.

Flavian from Bakatung brought word to Ephrem, his Barapan clan-mate and the oldest man in Rumba, that men from Domakung had planted cocoa on Ephrem's land near that village. Flavian suggested that the matter be brought before the "kiap", but Ephrem, old and feeble and without children or other potential heirs, did not respond to the suggestion.

As noted earlier, the creation of a cash crop registry for the Kieta sub-district has helped to clarify a new system of inheritance. The former ADC reported (Denehy n.d.:3) that 'Among the details entered is the farmer's nominated inheritor and almost without exception those nominated are his children'. This general statement holds true for the four sample villages: of their 63 registrations, 58 provided information which could be checked against my genealogical records. Forty of these registrations had been made by men with surviving genealogical children, and in 37 of those cases genealogical children were designated as heirs. In the remaining instances, one registrant designated himself (his sons were grown-up), one his daughter's son (he had no surviving son), and one his wife's eldest child (apparently the trees were planted on land belonging to his wife's clan).

Of the 18 registrations made by men who had no surviving children, 6 designated 'sister's children', 3 a younger brother, 3 the registrant himself, and 1 each to genealogical grandchildren, wife, wife's child, foster child, genealogical mother's brother's son, and 'brother's children'.

A few special interviews with men who had not (or had incorrectly) used the registry supported the general pattern, but added some nuances. In two cases, men indicated that their children would inherit, even though they admitted the trees were planted on land belonging to their own clan. Anthony of Rumba had two stands of coconuts, one on Kuraban land, the other on Batuan; he had no children of his own. He stated that the trees on Kuraban land would be inherited by an orphaned youth of that clan, those on Batuan land by his eldest foster son, a Batuan boy. Another Rumba man of Tankorinkan clan, whose registration was in error, stated that his trees, planted on Bakorinko land, would go to his daughter's Bakorinko children rather than to his son's

children, who were Kuraban. Thus while genealogical paternity is the most powerful consideration in the developing system of inheritance, matrilineal clan ties are still operative.

Registrations also suggested that children were to inherit equally, although a less common pattern of primogeniture was present as well. In 26 of the 37 registrations designating genealogical children, all children were listed as heirs. Of the other 11 registrations, 7 designated an eldest son and 3 an eldest daughter; in 2 of the latter cases, the registrant had no son. In the remaining case, the registrant designated his children who remained at home, 'disinheriting' those who were being fostered by others. (There were three registrants who had foster children at the time of registration. One designated the foster child, one himself, and one his wife. In the latter two cases, this designation was consonant with clan ties connected with the land in question.)

Only one case of inheriting money was recorded, and this was clearly a modern development. An elderly childless man died in Sirambana. He had paid for shares in the Rumba trade-store, and Jude determined that his share of the 'profits' came to \$18.¹ It was decided that this money should go to Bernardine of Rumba, the deceased's 'sister's child'. (The exact genealogical relationship was obscure.) Informants suggested that in most cases such money as the deceased left would be used for a funeral feast.

While certain features of land tenure and inheritance may be discerned from the Aropa Valley material, the statements which can be made with most assurance are those of the former ADC (Denehy n.d.:2-3):

Land tenure has not assumed problem proportions at this date [1964] but one may assume that it will do so in the ensuing years.... It remains to be seen whether the concept of individual ownership of economic plantings (and the land involved) and bilateral inheritance will be accepted without dispute.

The main issues around which disputes will arise are patrilineally versus matrilineally inherited rights, rights to garden lands versus rights to land on which to plant cash crops, and rights based on descent versus rights based on residence.

¹ A completely unrealistic figure, see p.168.

Chapter 8

"Bisnis" and "kago"

The material on modern economics has so far been organised to permit direct and specific comparisons with Chapter 2, and with socio-economic data available in other studies. Yet dividing observations into such categories as 'subsistence versus cash crop production' - even where comparable categories are used by Nasioi villagers themselves - fails to capture the 'feel' of what was happening in and around Rumba during 1962-64. In order to make certain theoretical points about undifferentiated social and economic institutions, while at the same time attempting to report the particular ambience of the field situation, this chapter employs a style more like that of historical narrative. Much of what follows comes from Nasioi and European informants' accounts. Direct observation of villagers' activities often supported these reports: the most flamboyant sorts of 'cargois' behaviour were not so observed but descriptions were pieced together from several kinds of data.

Ideas of "bisnis", that is of carrying out trade and cash crop production after a (dimly understood) European model, seem to have become widespread among Nasioi in about 1960. As in the traditional situation, these new concepts appeared first on the coast and spread to the interior. The degree to which the Nasioi's own ideas meshed with administrators' efforts at economic development is problematical. At best there were differences of opinion as to appropriate ends and means - differences of which the respective parties were not even fully aware.

The pattern for these new "bisnis" ventures was remarkably uniform: a man with some knowledge of European ways - who was at least fluent in Pidgin, at most the possessor of a mission secondary education - and more than average coconut holdings, solicited cash contributions from villagers in his own area and beyond. With this capital he attempted to act as agent for copra sales and manager of one or more tradestores. In

each case the goal of 'living like Europeans' proved unattainable with the limited material, educational and organisational resources available, at which time activities were noticed by Europeans which they identified as 'cargo cult'. The argument of this chapter is that "bisnis" and "kago" (i.e., material and spiritual riches obtained by supernatural means) were never differentiated in Nasioi minds, and that the emphasis on supernatural elements only increased as the, in European eyes, business-like aspects of the various operations failed.

There was one exception to this as far as the Valley people were concerned. Adolphus was a man who had been a loyal supporter of the Administration and had been schooled to take an active role if (and when) a local government council was established in Kieta. While Rumba informants gave conflicting accounts of his 'sales talk', it appears that he de-emphasised supernaturalism and stressed the need for new, 'progressive' ideas. However, his store, capitalised on contributions made from the sample villagers and others, failed. Informants insisted that Adolphus had simply appropriated most of the luxury goods (guitars, radios) with which he stocked the store, and had used them himself or given them to paramours. They further argued that his performance was a major factor in their rejection of local government councils, with which Adolphus had been so closely identified.¹ Yet, as the then ADO was careful to point out, Adolphus simply returned to his home village without resorting to supernatural 'explanations' of his failure or formulating new 'rules' for co-operative effort, and ceased to be a major figure elsewhere. During 1962-64 he still made speeches in the Valley and elsewhere in favour of local government councils.

Lambert of Koromira was much more typical. Lambert had a firm base for his operations in a stand of several thousand coconut trees. He had a Copra Marketing Board number to be used in selling his copra directly to the Board. His daughter was married to the clerk of the Daramai Co-operative Society, so Lambert could obtain advice on business matters. Although

¹ This seems to me to be a rationalisation. Most villagers in the sample held strongly negative opinions of everything connected with the Administration and Australians in general. A local government council was just one, albeit the most obtrusive at the time, of the pressures they felt the Administration was putting on them, and Adolphus' behaviour merely provided more 'proof' to support a belief already firmly held.

these interests could have made him one of the most wealthy Nasioi, he chose to expand his "bisnis" by setting up a chain of tradestores. Part of his 'sales talk', as reported by informants, was in keeping with European business practice: villagers were told that when they spent money in the China-town stores the money left the village, but if they had their own stores they would get money back from 'profits'. (The word 'profit' was used regularly by informants, but none could explain the term beyond noting that it referred to money coming from "bisnis" which they would share.)

The tradestores were established in the Koromira area, but the message spread to Rumba and beyond. While the details are obscure, it is clear that Lambert's "bisnis" could not live up to his promises, and gradually the need for supernatural assistance was emphasised. This may have begun simply by urging participants to pray for success, but soon more bizarre manifestations took place. Lambert and others were reported to have seen visions of the Virgin Mary and Jesus; sometimes they spoke in tongues. Nightly prayer sessions were held in graveyards, with the expectation that the graves would open up as the Virgin, Jesus and the spirits of the dead brought money and manufactured goods to the devout followers. This mixture of traditional Nasioi dependence on spirits of the dead and a particular version of Catholicism was well described by the Pidgin term the Nasioi applied to it: "longlong lotu" or 'crazy church'.

The incident which finally brought administrative action involved a case of child neglect. For some reason Lambert or his assistants decreed that a sickly (and possibly deformed) child should be allowed to die in the village. Perhaps the rationalisation was that only perfect beings were fit to greet the millennium. At any rate other villagers found this violation of Nasioi norms concerning children too much to bear, and reported the situation to the then ADO. Lambert was tried on a charge of 'spreading false reports' (the typical legal method of dealing with 'cargo cults') and imprisoned for a year. At his trial, he reportedly began to speak in tongues, to the considerable irritation of those who regarded Lambert as a deliberate charlatan who was using cargoism for his own pecuniary interest.

On the one hand, Lambert's arrest and imprisonment probably prevented the formation of a full-fledged cult in the Valley. (An agent from Koromira had already performed 'miracles' (Pidgin "mirakulo") at Rumba, causing people to fall into a trance or to speak in tongues.) On the other, this action by

an Administration the villagers saw as depriving them of their rightful status, convinced many that Lambert must, indeed, have knowledge which would raise their standard of living to that of Europeans. The notion that "bisnis" and "kago" could be the elements for a sudden improvement in Nasioi life was well established in Catholic villages in the Valley, even though Lambert had been sent away by (the Nasioi thought) a frightened Administration.

There was, however, no dearth of "bisnis" leaders, and the one who was to direct operations in the sample villages was Sebastian of Kobeinan. Sebastian was a man of Tankorinkan clan and Lambert's 'nephew'. Born in about 1920, he had moved to Kobeinan when he was about five years old, his widowed mother having remarried a Batuan resident of that village.

Sebastian married a Batuan girl before World War II; they remained childless. After the war he began to plant coconut trees on Tankorinkan land, but in 1952 he was sent to the Hansen's disease hospital at Torokina. While there his trees were looked after by his sister's husband, a Batuan man. Sebastian received his only formal schooling at the hospital, learning to read and write simple Pidgin, and to do very simple arithmetic.

In 1961, about the time of Lambert's downfall, Sebastian was released from the hospital as an arrested case. On his return to Kobeinan, he plunged immediately into "bisnis". The degree to which Sebastian's affairs are connected to Lambert's is problematical, but certainly they have conferred and have lent each other money on occasion. However, Sebastian has considerable autonomy and should probably be regarded as a somewhat junior ally of Lambert rather than a mere agent.

Sebastian began by collecting money within Kobeinan to re-establish a tradestore there. Stock was first purchased from Lit Lau, but later from Wo Fat who offered lower prices. Other villages followed suit, bringing their money to Sebastian, who was to help them establish their own stores. In 1964 Sebastian claimed to act as agent for thirty-two villages scattered throughout North and South Nasioi, Kieta coastal, Kongara and Guava census divisions. (Wo Fat's records at the same time listed thirty-five villages under Sebastian's account.) Sebastian reported that five of these stores, including Rumba's, were prospering.

At the same time he had continued to expand his copra operations, claiming to own some 9,300 trees. The chain of stores and his copra business were mutually supportive, he said,

since he had used some of the money collected for the stores to hire labour and, in turn, provided money from his copra sales to help out those whose stores were in financial difficulties.

In attempting to understand the fiscal set-up of Sebastian's "bisnis" I soon felt that I had stepped through Alice's looking-glass into a world with a logic all its own. Sebastian was only slightly more capable of dealing with figures than most Nasioi his age, and the amounts he quoted cannot be made to accord with any observed reality. Thus he claimed to have spent \$16,100 on wages and food for copra labour, while taking in some \$2,160 for copra sales. If these figures were correct, and the latter might well be, Sebastian would have had to 'siphon off' about \$14,000 from other villages. This is a priori unlikely and, furthermore, is contradicted by figures he supplied to the ADO in 1963. The ADO, understandably concerned lest another "bisnis" attempt end in disaster, demanded an accounting when Sebastian purchased a small, used Landrover with money collected from several villages. Sebastian's account at that time said people from seventeen villages had contributed \$2,312 for the operation of tradestores, while people in seventeen villages (not exactly the same list) had contributed \$672 towards the Landrover purchase. It is worth noting that Rumba villagers' contributions to tradestore operations were the largest (\$316, provided by thirty-four contributors of both sexes). No contributions were listed from Siromba, although some Siromba villagers certainly made purchases at the Rumba store.

There is no doubt that Sebastian's operations involved large sums of money: purchases made under his account at Wo Fat's for three months in 1964 totalled \$1,820 (March), \$2,436 (April) and \$1,742 (May). What could not be determined is the amount of money which represented real profit, in the European sense of that term, to Sebastian and/or his associates. He admitted having two bank accounts but evaded my request to see the passbooks.

It is equally certain that, however successful Sebastian's "bisnis" efforts might have been, he himself believed they would be infinitely more successful if he could obtain the necessary supernatural knowledge. Until my negative responses made him abandon the attempt, he regularly asked me about reports of a means to 'grow' cargo from the ground; of a kind of treasure-chamber near a mountain or volcano somewhere on Bougainville, built from concrete slabs by American troops and tended to by an old man; of a book of mystic lore which

told how to get cargo, money, etc. On one occasion, he maintained that the members of the Hahalis Welfare Society on Buka¹ had obtained the appropriate knowledge to produce money, firearms, "laplap", and watches. The society, he said, was being directed by two Americans. (Lambert, after his release in 1963, paid me a similar visit, during which he created the impression that Administration officials were incorrect in describing him as cynically manipulating "longlong lotu" for purely personal ends. His questions on religious matters suggested that he, too, honestly sought supernatural answers to problems of economic development.)

Since their biggest "bisnis" leader was simultaneously so concerned with "kago", it is not surprising that Rumba villagers did not differentiate between the two concepts. Rumba was particularly close to Kobeinan and Sebastian because of the presence of Jude. Jude had been born in Kobeinan in about 1930, and orphaned as an infant. Whether from disease or injury, both legs became twisted and withered, so he walked with difficulty, using a stick to propel himself along.²

Jude, of Batuan clan, was the 'uncle' of Sebastian's wife. His orphaned state and physical handicaps (he also suffered from a skin disease which covered his whole body) seemed to have prevented his marrying. When Sebastian returned to Kobeinan, Jude also began to plant coconuts, but a dispute arose over his rights to land in the village. Charles, the leader of Batuan mu-group in Rumba, was anxious to begin coconut planting and other "bisnis" activities there, so it was decided that Jude would go to Rumba to show the way. He was to plant coconuts on all the land belonging to Batuan in Rumba (which trees were to be inherited by his Batuan 'nephews' there on his death), to handle the sale of copra for the (vaguely defined) benefit of all who helped him, and to manage the tradestore.

Jude was successfully carrying out his first task during 1962-64. Since the coconuts had not yet matured, part of the second had not really begun, although the inability of Jude and other informants to specify how proceeds from such copra sales were to be distributed suggested that conflict might

¹ See Pacific Islands Monthly, April 1966, pp.40-7.

² Doctors in the Harvard Solomon Island Project found it difficult to believe my testimony that Jude was capable of strenuous agricultural labour.

arise in the future. The real failure lay in Rumba's trade-store, although its final collapse did not occur until after I left the field in 1964.

Rumba's store, which was reportedly the second in Sebastian's chain, opened in December 1962 or three months after Kobeinan's. According to informants, the only stock at that time was twist tobacco, purchased by villagers for coconuts at the rate of twelve nuts per stick. Jude is said to have led others in making copra from these nuts, and the proceeds were used to increase the stock. While this account may be true, Sebastian's own report states that before mid-1963 cash contributions were made towards the store's operation, and the various notions of 'profit' and "dinau" or credit were based on an organisation of shareholders contributing from \$2 to \$10 apiece. (In December 1962 Jude hosted a feast for male Sirambana shareholders at which the traditional pattern of 'big man' entertainment was combined with the innovations of tinned fish and rice, served on a rough table constructed for the occasion.)

In 1963 the licence for the Rumba store - issued by the "kiap" for a fee of \$6 - was held by Charles in his own name. Jude was store manager during its lifetime, for which duty he was supposed to be paid \$12 monthly from the store's proceeds. Jude's 1963 estimate of monthly purchases of stock from Wo Fat was between \$100 and \$200; some further idea of operations can be obtained from Wo Fat's records,¹ as shown in Table 8.1.

Table 8.1

Rumba store purchases from Wo Fat, April-July 1963 and 1964

	1963	1964
April	\$239.36	\$296.26
May	297.03	162.53
June	197.70	191.80
July	305.70	225.56
Average	\$259.95	\$219.04

The other tradestore among the sample villages was at Bakatung; Siromba and Sirambana purchased goods at Rumba or at the Mangalim-owned store in Siromba. Detailed information was not obtained on the Bakatung store, which burned down in

¹ Cf. also Appendix C.

1964, but operations outlined in 1963 by the then manager were similar but much smaller in scale. Thus no licence had been purchased, the manager did not receive a salary, and estimated monthly turnover was \$30 to \$50.

Money and orders (usually oral, with some notes in Pidgin) for store goods were given to Sebastian, who then arranged the purchase from Wo Fat. In some recorded instances the amount provided by Jude was insufficient to cover the order, in which cases the debit balance was listed against Sebastian's account with Wo Fat, i.e., in no recorded case did Sebastian make up the difference at the time the order was placed. If Sebastian's vehicle was used to transport the goods he levied a charge of \$2. In two recorded cases when Wo Fat's vehicle transported the goods, the charges were \$1.50 and \$2.20 respectively. Rumba also served as a pick-up point for goods destined for stores in Kongara and other more remote areas; these goods were carried on the backs of villagers, who might come from as far away as the Guava census division.

Jude maintained that the regular mark-up over the price paid to Wo Fat for goods was 5c per 50c (Bakatung's manager quoted 5c per \$1). However, on the one occasion when Sebastian delivered the order in person, he set prices on a more haphazard basis, with mark-ups averaging 5c to 10c on every item over 40c, but never exceeding 50c on even the most expensive items. (Perhaps for my benefit, he carried out this procedure with maximum use of Pidgin and English billingsgate - for example, "Makim tu bloody shilling" - much in the manner Wo Fat's sons employed when dealing with Nasioi.) Special order items, on the other hand, such as beer for a party or a Petromax lamp for Jude, apparently received no mark-up at all.

In attempting to go beyond the figures already cited in tradestore operations, I again encountered a kind of 'book-keeping' in which no accounts balance. The death of a Sirambana villager (cited above) provides a case in point. When I asked Jude how he arrived at the sum given to the deceased's 'ZD', he reluctantly showed me a notebook containing many figures. Someone had written at the top of the page the 'Interest = principal x rate x time' formula, but the numbers entered in the formula neither related to those Jude cited nor did they total the \$18 sum awarded to the heir. According to Jude, the Sirambana villager had made an initial contribution to the store of \$10, and had purchased some \$10 to \$15 worth of goods before his death: therefore (sic) his 'profit' came to \$18.

Even more disastrous for the store, however, was the problem of "dinau" or credit. Every tradestore in the 'chain' which I visited posted a sign forbidding extension of credit: "Dinau itambu" or "I no gat dinau". Yet every store extended credit, with the rationale that shareholding made this the individual's right. Jude argued that no villager would leave the area without settling his obligations. This was perhaps true, but the argument shows no awareness of the reduced liquidity resulting from sales on credit.

For example, each month the Rumba store purchased about \$230 worth of goods from Wo Fat. Assuming a mark-up of 10 per cent, the store's margin would total \$23 per month, from which Jude's \$12 salary and a transport fee of about \$2 had to be paid. At best the store might have a net sum of \$10 above the obligation to Wo Fat. In fact, "dinau" at Rumba store never went below \$50 during 1963-64; the largest debtors, Edmund and Casimir, never reduced their combined debt to less than \$40, and many men had balances of \$2 to \$4, which they periodically cleared. Consequently each month cash available to purchase stock would be at least \$40 less than the value of stock desired. Unlike Jude, Wo Fat would not extend credit indefinitely, so that Sebastian had to exert pressure on Rumba villagers or make up the deficit himself. In any event, "dinau" alone would have eventually caused the collapse of the store.

In addition, traditional values of generosity and sympathy impinged upon Jude. When Antsi died, her maternal grandfather wished to provide an impressive offering of food to funeral visitors. He went to Jude and asked for rice, tinned fish, tea, biscuits and sugar, saying that he would give up his share capital in the store as payment. (Of course, in Western book-keeping his share capital had already been consumed by haphazard management.) Jude gave him the goods outright, to an estimated value of \$20, on the basis that he was "sori"¹ for the grandfather's bereavement.

¹ Nasioi employ the concept of "sori" or pity as a rationale for both requests and favours granted, as when a drunken villager unsuccessfully begged me for methylated spirits, whining "Yu no sori long mi, mi no wokim lamp bilong mi?" ('Don't you feel sorry for me since I can't operate my lamp?'). I am not sure to what extent the concept as presently employed is traditional since the Pidgin term is generally used, and the only translation provided of 'I am sorry' was Oraka dei moi, more literally glossed as 'I feel bad'.

Finally, then, at least occasional use of store receipts by Sebastian for his own purposes and the inadequately compensated damage to goods caused by his driver's drunken and/or careless handling, created still further burdens for the store. Yet the final failure (after I left the field) was described by villagers as stemming from Jude's sexual misbehaviour:

He, Sebastian, Sebastian's driver, and other men of Kobeinan and Rumba became involved with Bartholomew's daughter, whose husband was then in the Hansen's disease hospital. After the woman left Rumba to visit her husband it was disclosed that she was pregnant. Paternity was assigned to Jude (perhaps on no more substantial grounds than that he was one of the few unmarried suspects), who was then denounced by men of the woman's clan and Bartholomew's clan. They claimed that sexual immorality was bound to be punished by the Christian pantheon, and that the decline of the store meant Jude's punishment adversely affected others. (Supernatural punishment of sexual immorality by the manager was also cited as the cause of the Bakatung store fire.) Jude gave up the store in such despair that some villagers feared he would commit suicide, and hastened to reassure him that his copra "bisnis" was still welcome in Rumba.¹

Sebastian not only acted as a middleman in tradestore operations but in copra sales as well, although the details of his agency differed. He maintained that he merely acted as a messenger for the producers: they told him when they had accumulated enough to make a pick-up worthwhile; he arranged for the sale (to Angkarim or Wo Fat during 1962-64) and relayed the word as to when the pick-up would be made; he collected the cash at the purchaser's convenience and sent it along to the producer. In Sebastian's account, he received no return for this service except (a) occasional labour in his own copra production, and (b) a \$2 fee per load when his vehicle was utilised. This transport fee, as both Sebastian and Europeans noted, barely covered petrol and certainly did not reimburse him for the driver's salary - a Nagovisi,

¹ In 1968 Jude maintained a small stock of trade goods in a new hamlet of Rumba, as did Titus in his hamlet. My research lay in other directions so I have few details, but I understand that these little stores were not based on shareholding by many villagers.

married at Kobeinan, who allegedly received \$20 per month while the vehicle was operative - or maintenance and depreciation.¹

One need not be unduly cynical to question Sebastian's figures, since he himself admitted that villagers' "bisnis" and his own were remarkably intermeshed. Thus, if trade copra was sold to Angkarim for 4.5c per lb, Sebastian might (and, indeed, did on at least one occasion in 1963) pocket the odd half cent. This margin would still fail to cover the expenses he faced in running his Landrover. The purchase of this vehicle in 1963 marked a high point in prestige for the villagers involved, but almost immediately presented problems similar to those already noted in store operations.

In the first place, no villager had the necessary technical knowledge to make effective use of the Landrover. The Nagovisi driver could not perform simple maintenance and did not even show sufficient understanding of good driving habits to minimise wear and tear. As was often the case in the Valley during 1962-64 and after, the man with the greatest - however small in absolute terms - technical skill was also among those villagers most contemptuous of traditional and European morality, and his carousing created both mechanical and social problems in connection with the vehicle.

Secondly, there were neither traditional nor developed modern norms as to rights over the vehicle. Clearly every resident of a contributing village shared in the prestige accruing from 'ownership', and informants were particularly gleeful in speculating on SDA villagers' chagrin at this Catholic piece of competitive socio-economic practice. But by the same token, each villager felt he had rights to use the vehicle at any time, and without compensation for ordinary passenger transport. Consequently the vehicle was always overloaded with 'pleasure riders' - usually young, sometimes drunken, men. Sebastian's attempts to collect passenger fares of 20c were generally evaded. (At one point, these totalled \$9.70 for Rumba alone, with a mode of 40c per debtor.) Those villagers in the interior (some in the then remote Guava area) who had no access to vehicular roads soon came to the conclusion that prestige was an inadequate return for their investment, and that once again they had provided

¹ The former was almost non-existent, the latter rapid and considerable.

resources which benefited only the more sophisticated Valley and coastal people.

Finally, the Landrover was at least symbolically associated with supernatural overtones. A Marist Lay Brother innocently suggested the name 'Christopher' i.e., 'Christbearer', for the vehicle, and Nasioi took up the suggestion with an enthusiasm indicating deeper attachment to the religious symbolism than the Brother had intended. During 1963-64 a song to the Virgin Mary, associated with Koromira "longlong lotu", was popular in the Valley. This song was regularly sung when adults of both sexes rode in 'Christopher'.

This point leads to further consideration of "kago" in connection with "bisnis". Mention had already been made of Lambert's and Sebastian's concern with what they suspected to be the supernatural requisites for economic success; other villagers were similarly, if less consistently, puzzled by such problems. A few examples from field notes may convey the sense of village attitudes, before the narrative proceeds to describe a particular development in 1964.

Jude had a copy of the mission's Nasioi "Buk Lotukonung", which provides a catechism, hymns, prayers and simple Bible stories in Pidgin and Nasioi. The illustrations were in silhouette, and Jude asked if this did not indicate that Christ had been black, and crucified by Australians to prevent the black men from learning cargo secrets.

Villagers who looked through a pile of magazines in my house were consistently intrigued by an advertisement for Players' cigarettes. (Nasioi did not, of course, distinguish among illustrations for advertisements, illustrations for fiction, and news photographs.) The advertisement showed the picture of a bearded sailor which is Players' trademark, surrounded by coins from many countries. I did not understand the interest expressed until Demetria, looking at the picture, folded her hands as if in prayer and cried, 'Da, kaaka, moni amesai!' ('You, grandfather [or ancestor], give me money!'). In other words, she and others regarded the trademark as an ancestral spirit (frequently described as bearded or hirsute) who controlled the supply of money, as traditionally spirits controlled pigs, game and crops.

Many younger men from the sample villages and beyond came to ask me about rumours they had heard of the Hahalis Welfare Society at Buka. Edmund and his

father-in-law, Timothy, reported that the society, directed by two Americans, was circulating a newspaper which described the proper combination of economic activity and supernatural ritual. Eventually they brought me a copy of this 'newspaper' and asked me to translate it from English to Pidgin. The document proved, in fact, to be the first lesson of a Bible correspondence course, designed for children and issued by the Voice of Prophecy radio programme in Rabaul. I tried to explain this tactfully, but finally yielded to their insistence on a typed Pidgin translation. Perhaps they felt I had deliberately mistranslated; at any rate, they never spoke of the 'newspaper' again.¹

Eustace commented that the stock of the Rumba tradestore was exhausted. I asked why a new order had not been placed. He replied that Sebastian felt "bisnis" activities provoked the envious, especially Protestant and/or pro-Australian Nasioi, to accuse him and others of cargoist behaviour ("kisim kago long matemate"). Eustace said such accusations were wrong, for the villagers had not yet (sic) found this secret possessed by Europeans.

These examples indicate that most villagers' views of "kago's" relation to "bisnis" remained inchoate during much of 1962-64. Certainly both traditional dependence on supernatural assistance in economic activity, and the "longlong lotu" spreading from the coast inclined Valley Nasioi towards cargoism. Yet no full-fledged cult materialised during the period under discussion; two obvious reasons for this were the lack of a truly charismatic leader, and Administration prosecution of coastal cargoists. The latter policy had little effect on underlying causes of cargoism, but did keep the most distressing symptoms from developing fully in the Valley.

I have elsewhere noted (Ogan n.d. and 1970b) a shift of emphasis in Nasioi cargoism from the heavily supernaturalist

¹ It is also possible that the copies I typed were used as a kind of fetish in cargoist activities. This apparently happened to some letters I wrote in Pidgin, explaining my work to dissidents who had written to me to denounce the Administration: the recipients claimed that in these letters I had described an impending American take-over of Bougainville.

"longlong lotu" to a more politically oriented - albeit still 'irrational' in Western terms - movement. For purposes of the present study, this shift is most clearly exemplified by communal work organisations which developed in Rumba in 1964.

Like so much of Nasioi cargoism, the background of what villagers often spoke of as their "kaunsil" is a mosaic of several factors. In the first place, the House of Assembly election in February 1964 had focused their attention on a particular political figure from the Banoni-Nagovisi area, and many cargoist stories now centred on him (Ogan 1965).¹ Secondly, the Administration's 'hard-sell' of local government councils seemed about to succeed, leaving the sample villagers outside and, in villagers' eyes, in competition with the council. Finally, all the earlier forms of cargoism, including rumours about Hahalis as well as "longlong lotu", were not forgotten but entered into the new patterns.

My first field notes on this more coherent movement concerned the recently elected Member of the House of Assembly (who had earlier figured in "longlong lotu" stories as well): he was said to be instructing all southern Bougainville villagers to get their affairs in order for a new way of life. Specifically, banquets were to be held in his honour, at which people were to eat at tables like Europeans.

By March 1964 Rumba villagers had begun to organise themselves into communal work teams. Callistus was to direct village women in keeping the area clean. Most adult men were to take up heavier tasks, particularly clearing new tracts of land, under the leadership of Charles and Jude. Edmund was to provide a special evening 'school' for the children. The emphasis throughout was on co-operation, cleanliness, industry and order, combined with continued devotion to Catholic prayers. At least until I left the field in August 1964, there was no hint of the sexual promiscuity rumoured to be associated with the Hahalis movement in Buka and the 'new cargoism' which developed in Koromira (Ogan n.d. and 1970b).

When asked why these new organisations and activities had begun, villagers variously replied: the newly elected Member had promulgated these instructions; the non-council villagers were going to make sure their villages were in order so that, when the Kietā LGC was finally formed, that council could not fine them (sic); the Europeans created prosperous plantations

¹ This pattern has persisted, as noted in Ogan (1970b).

by employing large labour lines, so Nasioi must create their own labour lines on a co-operative basis to achieve similar success.

In other words, the rationales provided by villagers themselves hardly seemed deserving of the label 'cargoism'. Yet actual observations supported one's suspicion that new economic and political activities could not be so easily differentiated from earlier supernaturalist attitudes. Thus the proposed daily schedule in the village enjoined ever more scrupulous attendance at the village church; each communal work party I observed during April 1964 began with the recitation of prayers; Edmund's short-lived 'school' consisted of his own version of mission education centering on hymns and Bible stories.

The response of Rumba men to the "kiap's" suspicion casts light on these 1964 activities, not because observations prove the new "kaunsil" cargoist but rather because they show that no firm body of agreement on these matters existed in the Valley.

As part of the new communal effort a tract of Kuraban land was cleared, on which the Rumba "kukerai", the Kuraban Anthony, was to plant coconuts.¹ Rather than allot garden plots to individual women, influential Rumba men declared that this large plot would be communal. In his continuing efforts to root out cargoism, the then ADO regarded communal gardens as prima facie evidence of 'new cargoism' along what he regarded as Hahalis lines. In mid-1964 he spoke at a Valley meeting, warning villagers that they must avoid cargoism or face the consequences. When I asked Charles how this warning affected plans for the communal garden, he replied that this garden had nothing to do with "kisim kago long matemate" but was to be used as a store-house against need, particularly as a garden from which to sell produce to Rigu. On the other hand, when I raised the same issue with Timothy, he became very agitated and made me promise to say nothing about the new garden to any European.

In fact, the anomic - in the sense of relative 'normlessness' - situation in the Valley soon caused the collapse of

¹ Anthony, childless but a foster-father to Batuan children, indicated that many of these coconuts were to be inherited by fatherless Kuraban children.

the new "kaunsil". Young men were no more willing to work in this context than in any other. Edmund's 'school' lasted less than a week, when he returned to his more customary carousing. Callistus was unable to control his workforce of women, who were generally more traditional in their attitudes, particularly in their insistence on a sexual division of labour. After two tracts of land had been cleared, for Anthony and a Tankorinkan man, even industrious men of other clans began to complain that necessary returns for assistance were not forthcoming.

At the end of my fieldwork in 1964, then, "bisnis" had yet to achieve new, stable forms of organisation. The new stands of cash crops represented a considerable accomplishment for Jude, Charles and Sebastian, in particular, but social and economic mechanisms for handling money and operating retail business had yet to be worked out. Most disturbing for any European interested in Western-style development was villagers' continuing concern with supernaturalism in their confusion of "bisnis" and "kago".

Chapter 9

Conclusion

If the foregoing descriptive material is lengthy, the detail provided may permit the reader to draw his own conclusions about economic activities in the Aropa Valley in the early 1960s. It seems appropriate to conclude this study by noting a few points of wider interest to economic anthropology and by sketching some possibilities for the future of the Nasioi.

Some general considerations

Money. Earlier description has clearly demonstrated that while Valley Nasioi employ Australian currency - sometimes handling large amounts, indeed - their treatment of money differs notably from Western usage. Thus they do not ordinarily invest money in capital goods or savings institutions, nor do they provide accepted monetary standards of value for a wide range of goods and services.

Codere has recently presented a provocative analysis of money as a symbol which 'can abstract out of the concrete situation of the exchange of goods all specifications concerning the time, persons, place and goods involved in the exchange' (Codere 1968:560). Her article cannot be neatly summarised here. For present purposes it is sufficient to say that European money systems have a high symbolic power, permitting a high degree of such abstraction. However, Nasioi do not exploit this symbolic power. Rather like the Tiv (Codere 1968:572-3), they 'conceptualise [money] at [a]...lower... level of symbolic power' and hold 'to their old notions of what money was and what it should symbolise, while they [use] ...it in contrary ways'.

For example, while Europeans use money as a medium of exchange and standard of value of paying wages for labour, Nasioi use money payment for labour as a symbol of generosity and/or of customary social relationships. Since in this and other contexts the same substance is being employed in two

different symbol systems, the difficulties inherent in economic transactions between European and Nasioi are maximised.

Codere stresses money as an intellectual system which develops in a uniform sequence (1968:574) and her comments on the sub-systems of amounts (weights and measures) and writing requisite for highest symbolic power are illustrated by "bisnis" problems. The failure of Nasioi to learn¹ the sub-systems associated with European money precludes money's effective abstraction from particularistic factors in exchange. To put the matter in terms of the present study's general conceptual scheme: Nasioi villagers' incomplete understanding of the European money system weakens the effectiveness of money in differentiating economic activities from other aspects of social life.

Kinship. This continued lack of differentiation is particularly clear in the relations between kinship and marriage, on the one hand, and economic activities on the other. Nasioi social organisation (like that of other groups in Melanesia) has traditionally been flexible, with great latitude for individual manoeuvre within a broad framework in which uterine kinship was the most stable factor. I have elsewhere noted (Ogan 1966b and Chapter 6) the manner in which ambitious men continue to contract or arrange marriages which are advantageous in a changing socio-economic situation, so that play of the 'Nasioi marriage game' remains much the same as in the past, even though the prizes are somewhat different in form.

Obviously "bisnis" in the Valley during 1962-64 was organised utilising kin links, most visibly in the Tankorinkan (Sebastian and Lambert) - Batuan (Charles and Jude) 'axis'. The mu and mu-group have proven to be particularly advantageous in the initial stages of forming new organisations, because mu structure is internally loose and open to manipulation, while the idea of the mu and uterine kinship in general retains great positive value for Nasioi.

However, one may speculate that the advantages of relatively undifferentiated kinship and economic sub-systems are outweighed by disadvantages as soon as European-style economic activities are well under way. While Jude's entanglement with a Kuraban woman obviously did not cause the collapse of the Rumba store, Nasioi failure to distinguish between one's (extra-) marital affairs and life as an entrepreneur creates

¹ Or the failure of Europeans to educate the Nasioi.

a milieu in which kinship and marriage can hinder, as well as help, new economic organisations. Similarly the question of mu-group rights to land is certain to cause difficulty in the establishment of cash crop farming as envisioned by the Administration (prior to the discovery of copper on Bougainville).

It appears that the emergence of individual households, or pairs of households linked by kinship (e.g., the brothers Titus and Vincent), as economic units relatively free from wider kin networks is proceeding at an accelerating rate. Such differentiation is a necessity for the achievement of economic goals stated by both Nasioi and sympathetic Europeans; the process is likely to continue without specific efforts in that direction by the Administration.

Entrepreneurs. Finney (1968) has recently reminded¹ anthropologists of the compatibility of traditional 'big man' patterns with cash cropping and commercial enterprise. One wonders - with the wisdom of hindsight so typical of anthropologists - whether missionaries and administrators might have been well advised to exploit these traditional patterns in their encouragement of economic development.

The specific issue concerns co-operative enterprise. Descriptions of both traditional Nasioi life and the modern activities of Lambert and Sebastian make clear that Nasioi do not view group effort as an association of equals (on the basis of equal share contributions), nor do they agree that the size of contributions should determine the shareholder's return. Rather they see co-operation as the offering of services - however small, provided the affiliation is clear-cut - to an individual whom they believe superior in wisdom and/or industry. This individual is then to make returns on the basis of satisfying each follower's wants.

Such organisation of modern economic activities in the Aropa Valley has admittedly been a failure from the European point of view. However, all testimony by informants suggests that, despite the many dissatisfactions expressed about "bisnis", villagers still prefer this system to the Administration-backed co-operative society.² For Bougainville and

¹ Finney does not refer to a pioneering paper by Belshaw (1955) which makes many of the same points in a wider context of Melanesian data.

² A co-operative society was finally begun in the Valley in 1967, primarily by Protestant Nasioi of Daratui. A year later Catholic Nasioi formed another organisation, not yet

much of New Guinea, the co-operative movement might have achieved greater success from the villagers' standpoint had group enterprise been built around a carefully chosen 'big man', whose operations could have been guided by someone familiar with Western business methods. (In all fairness, one should note that, insofar as Nasioi antipathy permitted, some Administration personnel tried to do this on an informal basis.)

The present study further suggests that Finney (1968:406) may be unfair in categorising 'many social scientists, influenced by the writings of Weber' as arguing that 'entrepreneurial behaviour and economic innovations are most likely to be adopted by dissidents or members of minority groups'. In fact, the comparative economic performance of Catholic and SDA Nasioi shows that such a gross simplification can be profitably examined at several levels. But a more basic point is this: an entrepreneur/innovator needs room to manoeuvre. Such room can be provided within the existing social system by any number of factors in an individual life history.

The case of Maura cited in Chapter 2 shows that an oboring might increase or maintain his prestige by adding a widow without small children to his production group. In this way he combined the use of her productive services in pig-raising with minimal consumption demands. It is unlikely that Sebastian's childlessness and Jude's bachelorhood are irrelevant to their entrepreneurial activities. Rather these conditions give them a certain freedom from traditional demands which might limit their move towards commercial enterprise. At the same time, the two are not 'misfits' in any important social psychological sense. Indeed, they utilise the traditional system whenever possible in entrepreneurial activities, and are able to do so more effectively because of their relative freedom from other social ties.

A final point should be made for its possible interest to administrators and others promoting Nasioi economic development. Demographic and social factors associated with World War II present particular obstacles to the rise of effective leadership, and entrepreneurship in particular. There is a disproportionately small number of young men in the 20 to 29

2 (continued)

registered as of late 1970. These organisations will be described in a later work.

years age bracket in the Valley.¹ Further, those young men of this age grew up in a time of severe dislocation during which social institutions, including educational facilities, were even less effective than in the 1960s. Consequently the age cohort which might a priori be expected to form a most 'progressive' element is both small in numbers and severely disorganised in terms of norms and identity.² Administrators and missionaries might be well advised to circumvent this group in development plans and to concentrate instead on the relatively large population under twenty years of age.

Religion. Finney (1968:407) raises the question of the rapid economic and entrepreneurial development of highland New Guinea, in contrast to other parts of the country, and notes some undoubtedly important factors. (That most relevant to the Nasioi situation is the relatively permissive or supportive attitude of European private enterprise in the highlands, in contrast to the behaviour of some Kieta planters.) However, he neglects the factor of religion, in both its traditional and mission forms.

The present study has, one hopes, provided abundant evidence for the relevance of an ethnographic version of the Weber thesis to the Nasioi data. It remains only to note that there is a sharp contrast between the traditional religion or world view of highland and coastal (including island) areas of Melanesia (Lawrence and Meggitt 1965). These respective world views constitute a major factor in understanding modern behaviour, whether economic or political, and Europeans operating in Papua New Guinea can ignore religious attitudes only at peril to their own interests.

Legal institutions and race relations. A Weberian viewpoint on economic development is not, as Peacock (1969) has stressed, concerned solely with religion. Other institutions, and particularly a rational legal system, must support characteristically modern Western economic activities. Not only has such an institution failed to develop within Nasioi society, but villagers have not utilised the European legal system provided by the Administration.

An observer at least as sympathetic towards Nasioi as towards other human beings cannot help but be struck by the frustrations they suffer because of the vacuum existing in

¹ Cf. Friedlaender (1969) and Appendix A.

² Cf. Ogan (n.d.).

social control. This vacuum, for example, precludes the collection of "dinau" in the courts or the prevention of fraud by anomic younger men. No enforcement of any form of contract exists other than that provided by the "kiap", and such mechanisms are blighted by the overwhelmingly negative attitudes expressed by Valley Nasioi towards the European presence.

At the same time, it is difficult for the observer not to be sympathetic towards those Europeans, in whatever capacity, who are sincerely concerned to help Nasioi to achieve the villagers' own goals. The anthropologist would like to offer a formula to dissipate the abrasive race relations which will, in the foreseeable future, continue to hamper successful change in Nasioi economic life. Yet he can no more wave away sixty-five years of deliberate exploitation and honest mistakes in Bougainville than he can dispel 300 years of American history in relation to black people in that country. He can only stress that any efforts to promote economic development in whatever realm among the Nasioi must face the bitter facts of relative normlessness and lack of social control in the villages and of resistance based on decades of unsatisfactory interaction between the Nasioi and nearly all Europeans with whom they have been in contact.

Prospects for the future

The epigraph at the beginning of Chapter 2 suggested the problems of establishing a 'baseline' for the study of social change. On the other side of the coin, the investigator cannot hold back continued change while he completes the analysis and presentation of his data. The latter circumstance is particularly painful in the present instance.

When I left the field in 1964, no one could have predicted the value of the copper discovery in Nasioi territory. While my investigations made easy the correct prediction that Nasioi would resent and resist Bougainville Copper's operations, practical considerations of Australian politics and economy made such insights irrelevant. The copper will be mined and Nasioi life thus further disturbed, despite any predictions a social scientist might make about increased anomie or even physical violence which will result.

One point should nevertheless be raised and stressed, since no evidence exists in their reported decisions that Bougainville Copper and the Administration are sufficiently aware of the issue. The Nasioi are faced with a population explosion and a consequent acute land shortage in terms of any way of life which would have continuity with the past. Given the

rapid expansion of cash cropping, the demographic circumstances (e.g., an estimated 50 per cent of the population is under fifteen years of age), and the present Nasioi ignorance of, and predictable mission resistance to, effective methods of birth control, the present group of Nasioi children under ten years of age can look forward to an adulthood in which land for gardens and/or new cash crop planting will simply not be available. Nor will payment of huge (by village standards) sums to Nasioi dislocated by Bougainville Copper operations assure the displaced of other land, since Valley villagers themselves are aware of the potential land shortage and are unwilling to sell their holdings. As a result of this situation, the break with traditional life will be final, irrevocable and, probably, painful.

The rejoinder made by the Administration and Bougainville Copper alike is that the tremendous economic development predicted for the Bougainville District as a result of copper mining will ensure a new life for the Nasioi which will be much more satisfying than the old. A new town of 10,000 people (ethnicity unspecified in Administration propaganda), new roads, new power plants, new jobs - all these developments are alleged to herald a bright future for Nasioi and other Bougainvilleans.

When I originally drafted this chapter, I could only say that nothing in the Nasioi situation in the early 1960s, nothing in the history of the Australian presence in Bougainville, nothing in the record of European capitalism in underdeveloped countries could permit such optimism. At that time, I felt that the easiest short-term prediction about Nasioi social life was one of increased disorganisation and anomie. I did suggest, as a relatively remote possibility, that the reaction against Bougainville Copper and other European interests might bring about a new coherence, permitting a revitalised social organisation better designed to meet Nasioi needs.

It now appears that, sparked by young Bougainville men in the University of Papua and New Guinea and elsewhere, a new unity may be in the making for the island. An organisation has been founded, with headquarters in the Nasioi area, to fight for a variety of social, economic and political goals - including the establishment of Bougainville as an independent political entity. While this organisation and its Australian spokesman are presently (1970) surrounded by some ambiguity, the potential for social change should not be underestimated. Perhaps more promising is the work of an ex-seminarian from Buin who

began in 1969 to forge links which are ultimately to connect all the producer and consumer co-operative societies in south Bougainville.

So the task of studying social and economic change among the Nasioi may really have just begun. I plan to document elsewhere some of the changes brought about in the early 1970s; others may carry on the work in the future. Ideally some of these will be young Nasioi scholars undertaking a broad range of investigations into the social life of their fellows. The real justification for the present study will lie in whatever value it possesses for these Nasioi of the generation to follow.

Table A.1

Population of South Nasioi census division, 1960-63

Population	1960-61				1961				1962				1963			
	M	F	Total	Grand total	M	F	Total	Grand total	M	F	Total	Grand total	M	F	Total	Grand total
Births	31	36	67	67	28	42	70	70	52	53	105	105	26	10	36	36
Deaths: 0-1 month	0	1	1		0	0	0		0	0	0		0	0	0	
0-1 year	2	1	3		0	0	0		2	0	2		1	0	1	
1-4	1	0	1		0	2	2		1	2	3		0	0	0	
5-8	0	0	0		0	2	2		0	1	1		0	0	0	
9-13	1	0	1		?	?	?		0	0	0		1	0	1	
13+	6	4	10	16	9	7	16	20	5	8	13	19	2	1	3	5
Labour potential:																
10-16	120	105	225		129	126	255		162	151	313		143	147	290	
16-45	482	409	891	1,116	430	393	823	1,078	489	431	920	1,233	482	396	878	1,168
Average family			1.9				2.6				2.4				2.4	
Totals																
(excl. absentees):																
children	312	309	621		219	225	444		296	298	594		319	296	615	
adults	541	521	1,062	1,683	492	510	1,002	1,446	482	508	990	1,584	519	533	1,052	1,667
Grand totals																
(incl. absentees)				1,887				1,943				2,035				2,078

Demography

Appendix A

Source: Department of Native Affairs census tabulations, South Nasioi census division (1960-63).

Table A.2

Village, hamlet and household composition

Village	Hamlet	Households	
		Composition	Number
Rumba	A	Man, wife and immature children	9
		Man and wife only	5
		Single man or woman	3
		Other:	
		Man, wife, their adult married daughter and immature grandchildren	1
		Man, wife, immature child + man's adult <u>mu</u> -mates (brother and sister)	1
		Man, wife, immature child + man's adolescent brother + Papuan friend	1
		Man, wife, immature children + 2 temporary labourers	<u>1</u>
		Hamlet total	21
	B	Man, wife and immature children	4
		Man and wife only	1
		Other:	
		Man, wife and wife's adolescent son	1
		Man, wife, immature child and man's mother	<u>1</u>
		Hamlet total	7
	C	Man, wife and immature children	2
		Man and wife only	2
		Other:	
		Man, wife, immature children and man's mother	<u>1</u>
		Hamlet total	5
	D	Man, wife and immature children	3
	E	Man, wife and immature children	1
		Man and wife only	1
		Other:	
		Man, wife, adolescent daughter + man's adult male <u>mu</u> -mate	<u>1</u>
		Hamlet total	3
	F	Man, wife and immature child	1
	G	Single man	2
	Village grand total		<u>42</u>
Sirambana	A	Man, wife and immature children + married daughter and husband + man's young <u>mu</u> -mate and wife	1
	B	Man, wife and immature children	2
		Single man	2
		Other:	
		Woman (husband in leprosarium), her immature children + aged widow (husband's <u>mu</u> -mate)	1
		Widower and unmarried adult son	1
		Man, wife, immature child + wife's adult <u>mu</u> -mate	<u>1</u>
		Hamlet total	7
	C	Man and wife only	1
		Man and aged female <u>mu</u> -mate	<u>1</u>
		Hamlet total	2

Table A.2 (continued)

Village	Hamlet	Households	
		Composition	Number
Bakatung	D	Man and wife only	2
		Single man	<u>1</u>
		Hamlet total	3
	Village grand total		<u>13</u>
	A	Man, wife and immature children	7
		Single woman	1
		Other:	
		Man, wife, immature children + wife's aged female <u>mu</u> -mate	<u>1</u>
		Hamlet total	9
	B	Man, wife and immature children	2
	C	Man, wife and immature children	7
		Man and wife only	3
		Single woman	<u>1</u>
		Hamlet total	11
	Village grand total		<u>22</u>
Siromba	A	Man, wife and immature children	3
		Man and wife only	1
		Single woman	1
		Other:	
		Man, wife, unmarried adult son, married daughter and husband + wife's sister	1
		Man, wife, immature children + married daughter and husband	<u>1</u>
		Hamlet total	7
	B	Man (wife and one child in leprosarium) and immature children	1
	C	Man, wife and unmarried adolescent daughter	1
		Widow and unmarried adult son	<u>1</u>
	Hamlet total		2
	D	Man, wife and immature children	2
	Village grand total		<u>12</u>

Source: author's census (1963).

Appendix B

Sample diet history

Collected from Rumba commensal group consisting of

A	Male	(estimated) age 60	
B	Female	(estimated) age 60	
C	Male	(estimated) age 33	
D	Female	(estimated) age 23	
E	Male	(estimated) age 5	
F	Male	3 years, 8 months	(children of C and D;
G	Female	14 months	ages as recorded in
H	Male	10 years	mission)
I	Male	7 years, 3 months	

Quantities represent cooked weight, as measured on Salter Scale No.50. On the first day, C apportioned food as indicated, but subsequently the other members of the household objected to this interference with regular habits, and total cooked food was recorded. According to the women, no salt was used in the cooking. G is still breastfed and her intake of the food recorded is small, in the form of tidbits given to her by her parents. It is probable that E, F, H and I also ate a few bananas and chewed on wild sugar cane (Saccharum robustum) while playing in the bush, and any of the children might have been given a sweet biscuit or two by an older person. However, these items would not represent a significant part of their diet.

First day, a.m. communal pot of soup (squash, tomato, bits of freshwater fish)

A	sweet potato - 1 lb, 1 oz
B	cooked bananas - 1 lb, 7 oz
C	sweet potato - 1 lb, 3 oz
D	sweet potato - 1 lb, 2 oz
E	sweet potato - 6 oz
F	sweet potato - 1 lb
G	bananas and sweet potato - tidbits only
H	a.m. sweet potato - 14 oz
	p.m. bananas - 2 lb, 4 oz
I	a.m. sweet potato - 13 oz
	p.m. bananas - 1 lb, 14 oz

Second day

a.m.	bananas - 3 lb, 4 oz
	sweet potato - 6 lb, 2 oz
p.m.	sweet potato - 13 lb, 3 oz

Third day

a.m.	sweet potato - 4 lb, 12 oz
	"kongkong taro" (<u>Xanthosoma sp.</u>) - 3 lb
p.m.	sweet potato (two varieties) - 9 lb, 3 oz
	yam - 1 lb, 5 oz

Fourth day

p.m.	sweet potato - 8 lb, 14 oz
------	----------------------------

Appendix C

Consumption of European goods

Table C.1

Sample docket for Rumba tradestore purchases from Wo Fat,
1 November 1963
 (\$)

Item	Cost
1 dozen issue towels	3.60
5 dozen torch batteries	3.76
6 tins (16 oz) beef dripping	1.36
2 pair white shorts	1.40
1 pair khaki shorts	1.50
1 bed sheet	1.60
1 dozen cigarette lighters	3.86
5½ loaves bread	1.10
4 doublesewn "laplap"	4.80
8 "laplap"	6.40
1 boys shorts	.30
1 dozen singlesewn "laplap"	4.80
6 packets lighter flints	3.60
1 carton Rothmans cigarettes	7.00
1 dozen packets tea	2.80
1 box torch bulbs	.60
4 exercise books (32 pp)	.34
40 lb nails	5.00
1 dozen packets SAO biscuits	2.20
5 cartons tinned fish (5 oz)	41.00
5 bags white rice	23.00
1 bag sugar	9.50
1 carton navy biscuits	7.80
1 carton sweet biscuits	7.80
1 tin biscuits	3.80
3½ dozen small bottle soft drinks	3.50
1 bale newspaper	3.50*
3 cartons VB ale	16.20**
1 carton tinned corned beef	18.00
Delivery charge	1.50
	191.62

* For making cigarettes of twist tobacco.

** For a special drinking party, led by Edmund.

Table C.2

Items included in Rumba tradestore purchases from Wo Fat,
March-July 1964

<u>Frequency of orders</u>	<u>Items</u>
Every month	Rice, tinned fish, torches and/or batteries and bulbs
Four months of 5	Kerosine, tobacco, biscuits, "laplap"
Three months of 5	Soap, tinned corned beef, bush knives, men's shorts
Two months of 5	Hair dye, saucepans, exercise books, kerosine lamps
One month of 5	Tea, nails, sugar, newspaper, pipes, bedspread, towels, belts, ballpoint pens, razor blades, men's shirts, women's underwear

Table C.3

Standard cost of commodities
 (\$)

<u>Item</u>	<u>1962-63</u>	<u>1963-64</u>	<u>1965-66</u>
Rice (1b)	0.10	0.10	0.10
Meat w/cereal (12 oz tin)	.25	.25	.25
Dripping (1b)	.25	.25	.33
Sugar (1b)	.19	.13	n.a.*
Tea (oz)	.10	.10	.84 (1b)
Salt (1b)	.06	.06	.07
Tobacco (stick)	.10	.10	.10
Matches (box)	.02	.02	.02
Soap (1b)	.20	.20 (2 1b)	.20
Navy biscuits (1b)	.19	.19	n.a.
"Laplap"	.40	.40	.40
Shorts, khaki)	1.00	1.00	1.00
Shirt)	1.00	1.00 (white)	1.50
Blankets)	1.16	1.00	1.00
Towel) each	.60	.60	.50
Mosquito net)	1.50	1.20	2.20
Plate)	.20	.20	.20
Spoon)	.10	.10	.10

* Not available.

Sources: Department of Native Affairs/District Administration annual reports, Kieta sub-district.

Bibliography

- Allen, J. and Hurd, C., n.d. Languages of Bougainville District, Summer Institute of Linguistics, Ukarumpa.
- Barrau, J., 1958. Subsistence Agriculture in Melanesia, Bernice P. Bishop Museum Bulletin 219, Honolulu.
- Bell, H., 1967. 'Goodbye to all that? Integration in the PIR', New Guinea, vol.2, no.2, pp.49-58.
- Belshaw, C.S., 1950. 'Changes in heirloom jewellery in the Central Solomons', Oceania, vol.20, no.3, pp.169-84.
- 1955. 'The cultural milieu of the entrepreneur', Explorations in Entrepreneurial History, vol.7, pp.146-63.
- 1965. Traditional Exchange and Modern Markets, Prentice-Hall, Englewood Cliffs, N.J.
- Bendix, R., 1965. 'Industrialisation, ideologies and social structure' in Readings in Economic Sociology (N.J. Smelser, ed.), Prentice-Hall, Englewood Cliffs, N.J.
- Bettison, D.G., 1966. 'The expatriate community' in New Guinea on the Threshold: Aspects of Social, Political and Economic Development (E.K. Fisk, ed.), Australian National University Press, Canberra.
- Biggs, B., 1960. Maori Marriage: an Essay in Reconstruction, Polynesian Society, Wellington.
- Blackwood, B., 1931. 'Mountain people of the South Seas', Natural History, vol.31, pp.424-33.
- Burridge, K.O., 1960. Mambu: a Melanesian Millennium, Methuen and Co., London.
- Chinnery, E.P., n.d. 'Notes on the natives of South Bougainville and Mortlocks (Taku)', Territory of New Guinea Anthropological Reports no.5.
- Codere, H., 1968. 'Money-exchange systems and a theory of money', Man, vol.3, no.4, pp.557-77.
- Denehy, M., n.d. 'Some problems of area development in the Kieta sub-district', unpublished manuscript.
- Eggan, F., 1950. Social Organisation of the Western Pueblos, University of Chicago Press, Chicago.
- 1954. 'Social anthropology and the method of controlled comparison', American Anthropologist, vol.56, no.5, pp.743-63.
- Eisenstadt, S.N., 1966. Modernisation: Protest and Change, Prentice-Hall, Englewood Cliffs, N.J.
- Epstein, T.S., 1968. Capitalism, Primitive and Modern, Some Aspects of Tolai Economic Growth, Australian National University Press, Canberra.
- Festinger, L., 1957. A Theory of Cognitive Dissonance, Row, Peterson and Company, Evanston, Illinois.

- Finney, B., 1968. 'Bigfellow man belong business in New Guinea', Ethnology, vol.7, no.4, pp.394-410.
- Firth, R. (ed.), 1967. Themes in Economic Anthropology, Tavistock, London.
- Fortes, M., 1958. 'Introduction' in The Development Cycle in Domestic Groups (J. Goody, ed.), Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Friedlaender, J.S., 1969. 'Biological divergencies over population boundaries in south-central Bougainville', unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University.
- Frizzi, E., 1914. 'Ein Beitrag zur Ethnologie von Bougainville und Buka, mit spezieller Berücksichtigung der Nasioi', Baessler-Archiv Beiheft VI, B.G. Teubner, Leipzig and Berlin.
- Geertz, C., 1965. 'Modernisation in a Muslim society: the Indonesian case' in Religion and Progress in Modern Asia (R.N. Bellah, ed.), The Free Press, New York.
- Glazer, N. and Moynihan, D.P., 1963. Beyond the Melting Pot, The M.I.T. Press, Cambridge.
- Goffman, E., 1964. Stigma: Notes on the Management of Spoiled Identity, Prentice-Hall, Englewood Cliffs, N.J.
- Goodenough, W.H., 1955. 'A problem in Malayo-Polynesian social organisation', American Anthropologist, vol.57, no.1, pp.71-83.
- Handbook of Papua and New Guinea (J. Tudor, ed.), 1969. Pacific Publications, Sydney.
- Harding, T.G., 1967. 'A history of cargoism in Sio, northeast New Guinea', Oceania, vol.38, no.4, pp.1-23.
- Healy, A., 1961. 'Native local government in New Guinea: its functions and problems', Journal of African Administration, vol.13, pp.165-74.
- Hogbin, H.I., 1958. Social Change, Watts, London.
- Hogbin, H.I. and Wedgwood, C.H., 1953. 'Local grouping in Melanesia', Oceania, vol.23, no.4, pp.241-76.
- Hurd, C. and P., 1966. Nasioi Language Course, Department of Information and Extension Services, Port Moresby.
- Kaplan, A., 1964. The Conduct of Inquiry, Chandler Publishing Company, San Francisco.
- Kariks, J. et al, 1957. 'Blood groups of the native inhabitants of Bougainville, New Guinea', Oceania, vol.28, no.2, pp.146-58.
- Lane, R.B., 1961. 'Cultural and environmental considerations in the assessment of garden plots in the northeastern New Hebrides' in Symposium: Patterns of Land Utilisation and Other Papers (V. Garfield, ed.), University of Washington Press, Seattle.
- Laracy, H.M., 1969. 'Catholic missions in the Solomon Islands, 1845-1966', unpublished Ph.D. thesis, ANU, Canberra.
- Lawrence, P. and Meggitt, M.J. (eds), 1965. Gods, Ghosts and Men in Melanesia, Oxford University Press, Melbourne.
- LeClair, E.E. Jr and Schneider, H.K. (eds), 1968. Economic Anthropology, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, New York.
- Lévi-Strauss, C., 1969. The Elementary Structures of Kinship, Eyre and Spottiswoode, London.

- Lewis, O., 1964. 'Seventh Day Adventism in a Mexican village: a study in motivation and culture change' in Process and Pattern in Culture (R.A. Manners, ed.), Aldine Publishing Company, Chicago.
- Long, G., 1963. The Final Campaigns, Australian War Memorial, Canberra.
- Mair, L., 1948. Australia in New Guinea, Christophers, London.
- Mannoni, O., 1964. Prospero and Caliban: the Psychology of Colonisation (Pamela Powesland, trans.), Frederick A. Praeger, New York and Washington.
- Mihalic, F., 1957. Grammar and Dictionary of Neo-Melanesian, The Mission Press, SVD, Techny, Illinois.
- Momis, J. and Ogan, E., 1971. 'Bougainville '71: not discovered by CRA', New Guinea, vol.6, no.2, pp.32-40.
- Murdock, G.P., 1949. Social Structure, Macmillan, New York.
- Murdock, G.P. et al, 1961. Outline of Cultural Materials, Human Relations Area Files, New Haven.
- Nash, M., 1966. Primitive and Peasant Economic Systems, Chandler Publishing Company, San Francisco.
- Ogan, E., 1965. 'An election in Bougainville', Ethnology, vol.4, no.4, pp.397-407.
- 1966a. 'Drinking behaviour and race relations', American Anthropologist, vol.68, no.1, pp.181-8.
 - 1966b. 'Nasioi marriage: an essay in model-building', Southwestern Journal of Anthropology, vol.22, no.2, pp.172-93.
 - 1970a. 'Nasioi pottery-making', Journal of the Polynesian Society, vol.79, no.1, pp.86-90.
 - 1970b. 'The Nasioi vote again', Human Organization, vol.29, no.3, pp.178-89.
 - 1971. 'Charisma and race' in The Politics of Dependence: Papua New Guinea 1968 (A.L. Epstein, R.S. Parker and M. Reay, eds), Australian National University Press, Canberra.
 - 1972. 'Nasioi land tenure: an extended case study', Oceania, in press.
 - n.d. 'Dependence, modernisation and "cargo cults": a Nasioi case study', unpublished manuscript.
- Oliver, D.L., 1949. Studies in the Anthropology of Bougainville, Solomon Islands, Papers of the Peabody Museum, Harvard University, vol.29, nos 1-4.
- 1955. A Solomon Island Society: Kinship and Leadership among the Siuai of Bougainville, Harvard University Press, Cambridge.
 - 1961. The Pacific Islands, Doubleday and Company, Garden City, N.Y.
- Oliver, D.L. and Howells, W.W., 1957. 'Micro-evolution: cultural elements in physical variation', American Anthropologist, vol.59, no.6, pp.965-78.
- Parkinson, R., 1907. Dreissig Jahre in der Südsee, Strecher and Schroder, Stuttgart.
- Parsons, T., 1966. Societies: Evolutionary and Comparative Perspectives, Prentice-Hall, Englewood Cliffs, N.J.
- Parsons, T. and Smelser, N.J., 1956. Economy and Society: a Study in the Integration of Economics and Social Theory, The Free Press, Glencoe.
- Peacock, J., 1969. 'Religion, communications and modernisation: a Weberian critique of some recent views', Human Organization, vol.28, no.1, pp.35-41.

- Polanyi, K., 1959. 'Anthropology and economic theory' in Readings in Anthropology (M.H. Fried, ed.), vol.2, Thomas Y. Crowell Company, New York.
- Pospisil, L., 1963. Kapauku Papuan Economy, Yale University Publications in Anthropology No.67, New Haven.
- Pye, L., 1963. Politics, Personality and Nation Building: Burma's Search for Identity, Yale University Press, New Haven and London.
- Rappaport, R., 1967. Pigs for the Ancestors: Ritual in the Ecology of a New Guinea People, Yale University Press, New Haven.
- Rausch, P., 1912a. 'Die Sprache von Sldost-Bougainville, Deutsche Salomonsinseln', Anthropos, vol.7, pp.105-34, 585-616, 964-94.
- 1912b. 'Die Verwandtschaftsnamen der Nasioi, Sldost-Bougainville, Deutsche Salomonsinseln', Anthropos, vol.7, pp.1056-7.
- Read, K., 1959. 'Leadership and consensus in a New Guinea society', American Anthropologist, vol.61, no.3, pp.425-36.
- 1965. The High Valley, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York.
- Reay, M., 1964. 'Present-day politics in the New Guinea highlands' in 'New Guinea: the Central Highlands' (J.B. Watson, ed.), American Anthropologist Special Publication, vol.64, no.4, part 2, pp.240-56.
- Rowley, C.D., 1958. The Australians in German New Guinea 1914-21, Cambridge University Press, London and New York.
- 1965. The New Guinea Villager: a Retrospect from 1964, F.W. Cheshire, Melbourne.
- Sahlins, M., 1963. 'Poor man, rich man, big-man, chief: political types in Melanesia and Polynesia', Comparative Studies in Society and History, vol.5, pp.285-303.
- 1965. 'On the sociology of primitive exchange' in The Relevance of Models for Social Anthropology (M. Banton, ed.), Frederick A. Praeger, New York and Washington.
- Salisbury, R., 1962. From Stone to Steel: Economic Consequences of a Technological Change in New Guinea, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne.
- 1964. 'Despotism and Australian administration in the New Guinea highlands' in 'New Guinea: the Central Highlands' (J.B. Watson, ed.), American Anthropologist Special Publication, vol.64, no.4, part 2, pp.225-39.
- 1968. 'Anthropology and economics' in Economic Anthropology (E.E. LeClair Jr and H.K. Schneider, eds), Holt, Rinehart and Winston, New York.
- 1970. Vunamami: Economic Transformation in a Traditional Society, University of California Press, Berkeley.
- Scheffler, H.W., 1964. 'Descent concepts and descent groups: the Maori case', Journal of the Polynesian Society, vol.73, no.2, pp.126-33.
- 1965a. Choiseul Island Social Structure, University of California Press, Berkeley.
- 1965b. 'Big men and disks of shell', Natural History, vol.74, no.10, pp.20-5.
- Scott, R.N. et al, 1967. Lands of Bougainville and Buka Islands, Territory of Papua and New Guinea, Land Research Series no.20, Commonwealth Scientific and Industrial Research Organisation, Melbourne.
- Smelser, N.J., 1959. Social Change in the Industrial Revolution: an Application of Theory to the British Cotton Industry, University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

- Thurnwald, H., 1934. 'Women's status in Buin society', Oceania, vol.5, no.2, pp.142-70.
- Thurnwald, R., 1934. 'Pigs and currency in Buin', Oceania, vol.5, no.2, pp.119-41.
- Vayda, A. et al, 1961. 'The place of pigs in Melanesian subsistence' in Symposium: Patterns of Land Utilisation and Other Papers (V.E. Garfield, ed.), University of Washington Press, Seattle.
- Warner, W.L., 1958. A Black Civilization, Harper and Broshire, New York.
- Watson, J., 1965. 'From hunting to horticulture in the New Guinea highlands', Ethnology, vol.4, no.3, pp.295-309.
- Weber, M., 1958. The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism (T. Parsons, trans.), Charles Scribner's Sons, New York.
- White, O., 1965. Parliament of a Thousand Tribes: a Study of New Guinea, Heinemann, London.
- Whyte, W.F., 1955. Street Corner Society, University of Chicago Press, Chicago.
- Worsley, P., 1968. The Trumpet shall Sound, second augmented edition, Schocken Books, New York.

Index

- Administration, effect on Nasioi of
European, 85-7; see also Australian
administration, German administra-
tion
- Adolescence, modern, 105-8
- Adolphus, business venture, 162
- Adultery, 41, 111, 140
- Aged people: productive efforts, 112;
security, 112
- Agricultural extension programme,
79-80
- Aita, 35n
- Alcohol: comparison of mission atti-
tudes to, 53-4; effects on
productivity of, 55-6; Nasioi
belief concerning European consump-
tion of, 71; Nasioi consumption,
90n, 150
- Allied bombing, during World War II,
76
- Ambrose, 142, 148
- American Negroes, situation compared
to Nasioi, 89, 90n
- Angkarim plantation (pseud.), 59-60,
61, 68, 70, 170, 171
- Anthony, 136, 159, 175, 176
- Antsi, 106; funeral, 140, 150, 169
- Areca nuts: exchanged for tobacco,
141; present-day harvesting of,
130; traditional gathering of, 25,
29
- Aropa River, 6, 130
- Aropa Valley Road, 7, 61, 62, 80, 81,
94, 146
- Asians, leasing of land, 58; see also
Chinese tradestores
- Asitavi girls' school, 49
- Australian administration, 74ff;
Nasioi attitude to, 9-10
- Austronesian speakers, 13, 31, 35n,
39, 40, 73
- Authoritarianism, on plantations, 69
- Baby-sitting arrangements: modern,
112, 116, 133; traditional, 31
- Bakatung village, 8, 62, 94, 138;
tradestore, 167-8, 170
- Bananas, traditional cultivation, 25
- Banoní, 69
- Bartholomew, 17, 18, 19-20, 40, 121,
136, 141-2, 146, 152, 155-6, 158
- Basketry, Kongara, 132
- Betel: adverse effects of chewing,
55; modern exchanges, 131; tradi-
tional exchanges, 31, 33, 36, 37,
38
- 'Big man' (oboring), modern role,
114; in "bisnis", 132, 179-80; in
fosterage, 104-5; in helping the
aged, 112; in (re-)marriage, 112;
in politics, 78-9
- 'Big man' (oboring), traditional, 17,
22, 30, 33n, 43; ability to ignore
ideal marriage patterns, 16; com-
pared to "kiap", 86; continuing
importance of, 113; establishment
of reputation as, 17, 18-20, 22;
influence on settlement pattern,
13; number of wives, 16; persona-
lity, 19; possessor of shell
valuables, 39-40; relation to
sorcerers, 32; traditional land
rights, 23; see also Bartholomew,
Maura
- Bikmoning plantation (pseud.), 61,
62, 63, 66, 70, 155; tradestore,
63-4
- Birth: modern exchanges at, 101-2;
traditional ceremonies, 33
- Bismarck Archipelago, 59, 73
- "Bisnis": and "kago", 162, 164; and
kinship, 178-9; introduction to
Nasioi, 161; patterns of, 161-2;
see also Copra sales agents, Trade-
stores, Nasioi, Vehicle, Sebastian's
- 'Black Dogs of Pokpok', 51, 75
- Bonuses, plantation-workers', 62, 63
- Bougainville Copper, 67-8, 88n, 89,
154n, 182, 183
- British Solomon Islands, 46, 48, 59
- Buin, 46; language, 3; mission stand
on timber rights near, 88n; people,
73; SDA station, 48; traditional
customs, 35n
- Buka: island, 2; Japanese occupation,
75; post-war administrative shift
to, 77; SDA station, 48; teachers,
54n; tradestores, 64

- Canarium almonds: present-day gathering of, 131; traditional ownership, collection and use, 25, 29, 34, 37
- Capital goods, limited Nasioi purchase of, 149
- Cargoism, 10-11, 162; Administration attitude to, 77, 163, 164; among councillors, 78, 82; and "bisnis", 172, 174-5; reasons for, 152; see also Supernatural assistance, traditional Nasioi dependence on
- Cash, use in traditional exchanges, 150-1; see also Money
- Cash crop registry, 82, 121, 125, 126, 128, 159-60
- Cash crops: division of labour in production, 101; impact on pig-raising of introduction, 118-19; land tenure problems and, 155-9; mission adherents compared on production of, 52; Nasioi attitude to, 77-8, 79; see also Cocoa, Coconuts, as cash crop, Government plantation
- Casimir, 144n, 152, 169
- Catholic mission: attitude to cash economy, 53; attitude to sexual relations, 47; attitude to traditional exchanges, 47; contrasts within, 57; differentiation brought by, 45, 56; early activities, 46-8; education activities, 48, 49, 54; effect of religious practices on economic activity, 53, 54; established in Bougainville, 46; nationalities of missionaries, 46, 49; post-war development, 49; relation of theology to traditional beliefs, 53; support of mining rights, 67
- Catholic mission adherents, Nasioi, 50; attitudes to Administration, 10, 51-2; attitudes to mission teachings, 46, 47; attitudes to SDA Nasioi, 51, 62, 145; European stereotype of, 50, 51; role in World War II, 51
- Charles, 119, 120, 121, 131, 147, 154, 156, 158, 166, 167, 174, 175, 176
- Child betrothal, Catholic opposition to, 47
- Childhood, modern, 103
- Chinatown, 64, 64n, 68, 148, 163
- Chinese tradestores, 64-5, 65-6; see also Lit Lau, Moo Tang, Wo Fat
- Chiropracters, Nasioi, 32, 61, 144
- Christian missions, in Kieta area, see Catholic mission, Methodist mission, Seventh Day Adventist mission
- Clan (mu), see Matriclan, Mu-group
- Clearing, for cash crops, 116, 121-2
- Climate, 3
- Clothing, Nasioi purchases of, 148
- Cocoa: cultivation requirements, 124-5; distribution of income from, 129; estimated no. of growers, 126; estimated no. of trees, 125; introduction, 60; Nasioi, 61, 124-8; plantation, 60, 62; production figures, 127; profitability, 60; work organisation, 126, 127
- Coconuts, Nasioi: as cash crop, 60, 119-24, 125, 148; traditional cultivation, 25; traditional trade, 38; under Germans, 25, 79; under mandate, 74, 79; see also Government plantation
- Communal work organisation, 174-6
- Compensation, modern practice of cash, 151-2
- Compulsory labour, 74, 77
- Contract labour, plantation, 60, 63, 145
- Co-operation, Nasioi view of, 179
- Co-operatives, in Kieta area, 81-2; Nasioi attitude to, 82-3, 154, 179
- Copra Marketing Board, 61, 81, 162
- Copra sales agents, Nasioi, 161, 162; see also Sebastian, copra operations
- Co-residence, as basis of mu-group, 97
- Craft production: modern, 129, 131; traditional, 29
- Credit: discriminatory tradestore policies, 65; Nasioi problems of, 167, 169, 182
- Cremation, traditional, 36; Catholic mission opposition to, 47, 56
- Crown Prince Range, 3
- Damon, Dr Albert, 8
- Daramai Co-operative Society, 162
- Daratui village, 3, 9n, 50, 61, 62, 81, 139, 145, 156, 179n
- Death, varying social significance of, 112-13
- Demboini village, abandoned during World War II, 22, 76
- Dependence on spirits, traditional Nasioi, 29, 30-1; and "bisnis", 163; and Catholicism, 53, 89, 163; and introduced political system, 78-9, 89-90; and plantation paternalism, 69-70, 89; see also Supernatural assistance, traditional Nasioi dependence on
- Differentiation, modern sexual: in adolescence, 105; in childhood, 103; see also Division of labour, sexual

- Differentiation, social-economic-cultural: as indicator of social change, 1; effect of Catholic mission on, 45, 56, 57; effect of government on, 85-6; effect of plantation work on, 68-70, 72; limited traditionally, 43-4; modern failure to achieve, 44, 113-14, 115, 178-9; money as factor in limiting, 72, 178; traditional means of achieving, 41-2, 43; without integration, 86, 87, 89-90, 114
- Discipline, plantation, 71; Nasioi attitude to, 71-2
- Discrimination, racial, see Race relations, Kieta
- Dispute settlement: modern, 151-2; traditional, 35, 36, 37
- Diviners, traditional (nankai), 31-2, 43
- Division of labour, limited in plantation work, 69
- Division of labour, sexual: modern, 101, 118n, 123; traditional, 24, 26, 28, 29, 32, 34
- Divorce: Catholic opposition to traditional, 47; modern, 111
- Domestic servants, Nasioi experience as, 67, 68
- Dorothea, feast for, 105-6, 138
- Drum, slit (toima), 17-18
- Ecology, importance in traditional exchange, 37-8, 39
- Economic activities, Nasioi: and modern social setting, 113; comparison of effect of religious practices on, 53; traditional, 22-41; under Australians, 79-82; under Germans, 79; see also "Bisnis"
- Edmund, 140, 144-5, 150, 152, 169, 173, 174, 175, 176
- Education, government, 84-5; mission resistance to, 84n; Nasioi attitude to 84-5, 105; see also Catholic mission, education activities
- English language, limited Nasioi knowledge of, 9
- European business practices, Nasioi understanding of, 163
- European exodus, during World War II, 49, 75, 89
- European food, Nasioi purchases of, 148
- European influences on Nasioi, 87-90; see also Administration, Catholic mission, Methodist mission, Plantations, Seventh Day Adventist mission
- Europeans: Nasioi attitudes to, 72, 86, 89-90, 182; stereotypes of Nasioi, 50-2; see also Race relations
- Eustace, 134, 146, 147, 173
- Exchange, modern: life-cycle, 101-13; monetary, 141-53; non-monetary, 132-41
- Exchange, traditional: Catholic mission attitude to, 47, 56; see also Extra-Valley exchanges, Intra-Valley exchanges
- Exogamy, mu, 13, 95, 110
- Exploration, by Europeans, 73-4
- Extra-Valley exchanges: modern, 141; traditional, 37-9
- Fallow land, traditional rights to, 26
- Family organisation, traditional: size affected by number of pigs, 26-7
- Fauna, 6, 28
- Feasts: modern, 167; traditional, 32-3, 37; see also Dispute settlement, Growing-up feasts, Head feasts
- Fence-building, traditional, 24, 26, 28
- Fieldwork, conditions of, 2-11
- Fishing: modern, 129, 130; traditional, 23, 28-9, 37
- Folk tales, traditional, 8, 13
- Food exchange, modern, 134, 141; ambiguities concerning, 134
- Food exchange, traditional, 31, 32, 33, 36, 37
- Foraging, see Gathering
- Fosterage, 103-5
- Freehold land, 59
- Frizzi, E., 13-39 passim
- Funerary exchanges: modern, 112-13, 140; traditional, 35-6; see also Head feasts
- Gardening, subsistence: modern, 101, 115-18; traditional, 22-6, 28, 32-3
- Gathering: modern, 129, 131; traditional, 29; see also Areca nuts, Canarium almonds
- Genealogies, Nasioi disinterest in, 14, 31, 95
- Generalised reciprocity, 138, 141
- German administration, 20, 46, 58, 59, 73-4
- Government plantation, 78, 79, 81
- Growing-up feasts (bauta): modern, 102, 112, 136-9, 141; traditional, 33, 34-5; use of makutu, 40

- Guava census division, 7, 34n, 67, 108, 154n, 164, 168
- Hahalis Welfare Society, 166, 173, 174, 175
- Hamlets: characteristics, 93-4, 95; individual's ties with, 94; relocation, 94
- Hansen's disease hospital, 164, 170
- Head feasts: modern, 139-40, 155, 156; traditional, 17-18, 23, 27n, 33n, 35-6, 40
- Head-hunting, traditional, 36n
- Head tax: as means of entering cash economy, 79; Australian administration continues German practice of, 74; post-war increase in, 77; superseded by council tax, 77n, 78
- High school, Buka, 84
- Highlands, warfare in, 13
- Hotel, Kieta, 61, 68, 127, 142
- House-building: modern, 131, 132, 133; modern game concerning traditional, 102-3; traditional exchanges involved in, 32-3, 35
- Household: as unit of production and consumption, 92-3, 104; child's view of, 93; composition, 91-2; sleeping arrangements, 93
- House of Assembly: elections 1964, 78-9, 174; elections 1968, 8; Bougainville Member's promotion of mining rights in, 67
- Hunting: modern, 129, 130; traditional, 23, 28
- Hurd, C. and P., 9n, 14n
- Income, Nasioi, 147-8, 153; cocoa, 129; copra, 124; vegetables, 146
- Inferiority, Nasioi feeling of, 89-90
- Inheritance: cash crop trees, 101, 159-60; money, 160; traditional, 17, 23, 27n, 29, 40, 155; see also Land tenure
- Intra-Valley exchanges, traditional, 31-7
- Investment, Nasioi attitude to, 154
- Isolation, as factor in Bougainville's development, 86-7
- Japanese occupation: European exodus during, 49, 75, 89; Nasioi reactions to, 51, 75
- Joint households, 93
- Jude, 108-9, 119n, 120, 122, 144, 146, 147, 160, 166-7, 172-3, 174, 176, 180
- Julian, 108, 109, 141, 158
- Kapauku, 28
- Kavivi plantation (pseud.), 61, 62, 63, 66, 71; tradestore, 63-4; owner, 144, 153n
- "Kiap": lack of Nasioi, 81; Nasioi attitude to, 74, 75, 77, 82, 86, 87-8, 152, 158
- Kieta "bung", 145
- Kieta hospital, 83
- Kieta Local Government Council, 51; impact of introduction, 77-8; Nasioi view of, 86, 162, 174; sale of copra, 81
- Kieta overseas wharf, 64, 81
- Kieta sub-district, 3, 8, 49, 58, 77, 81, 86, 87, 119, 148
- Kieta town, 3, 8, 46, 48, 49, 58, 64, 66, 74, 75, 76, 78, 84, 153
- Kinship: influence on store purchases, 150; modern usage, 94-101, 112; traditional usage, 13-14
- Kobeinan, 78, 81, 141, 164, 166
- Kongara census division, 7, 8, 13, 19, 38, 48-9, 53, 55, 164
- Kongara people, 75; as labour, 143; as sorcerers, 32; coffee production, 81n; cross-cousin marriage, 14; mu-system, 95n; slit drums, 17-18; traditional trade, 38, 39; under Germans, 74n
- Koromira: co-operative, 81; village, 32, 46, 162, 163, 164, 172, 174
- "Kukerai", 20, 22, 61, 74, 77n, 156
- Laissez-faire ideology of planters, 70-1
- Lambert, 108, 109, 122, 162-3, 166, 172, 179
- Land disputes: among Nasioi, 157-9; with Europeans, 62
- Land tenure: modern, 155-60; role of mu-group, 97, 98; traditional, 23, 26, 40, 154-5
- Lapun, Paul, 152; see also House of Assembly
- Leadership: continuity between traditional and introduced, 22; of mu-groups, 98; see also 'Big man'
- Legal system, Nasioi attitude to introduced, 181-2
- Life cycle exchanges: modern, 136-40, 150; traditional, 33-7; see also Funerary exchanges, Growing-up feasts, Head feasts, Marriage
- Limlimbur plantation (pseud.), 62
- Lit Lau, 64, 65; tradestore, 64, 65, 164
- Loans, for Australian returned servicemen, 61, 63, 71

- Local government council, see Kieta
 Local Government Council
 "Longlong lotu", 163, 166, 172, 173, 174
 Louis, 109, 121
 Love magic, 16, 107, 147
 'Luxuries', Nasioi purchase of, 149
- Malagasy, 89
 Malaria eradication programme, 83
 Mangalim plantation (pseud.), 49, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 66, 71, 75, 108, 124, 128n, 141, 154; trade-store, 61, 63, 149, 167; see also Bikmoning plantation, Kavivi plantation
 Mantanao, 18, 19
 Manual arts, lack in Valley, 38; see also Craft production
 Marai church, 131, 133-4
 Marai mission school, 103, 118, 133
 Mark, 109, 110
 Marriage, modern: exchanges, 113-14, 139, 141, 178; Nasioi view of purpose, 108; role of 'big men' in, 108-11; strife, 111
 Marriage, traditional, 14-16; feasts, 15, 35, 40; Catholic mission attitudes to, 47
 Matriclan, modern: impact of fosterage on, 104; meaning of affiliation, 97; property destruction, 140-1; role in land tenure, 160; see also Mu-group, modern
 Matriclan, traditional role: growing-up feasts, 34, 35; head feasts, 36-7, 140; makutu as property of, 40; membership, 14; property destruction, 36, 40; remarriage feast, 37, 40; see also Mu-group, traditional
 Mats: modern making of, 132; traditional exchanges of, 37; traditional making of, 29
 Maura, 16, 19-22, 98, 121, 155, 180
 Men, modern productive activities summarised, 132
 Men's house, traditional, 18, 93
 Menstruation, first: as traditional occasion for feast, 34-5; Catholic mission opposition to traditional ceremonies, 47; modern ceremonies connected with, 105-6
 Methodist mission: attitude to cash economy, 53; emphasis on individual responsibility, 53; establishment in Bougainville, 48, 51n
 Methodist mission adherents, Nasioi, 50; as council supporters, 77; European stereotype of, 50n, 50-1; personality, 55; role in World War II, 51
 Mining operations, 86; Catholic mission attitude to, 57, 67, 88; see also Bougainville Copper
 Mintarai village, 13n
 Misfortune, traditional reaction to (teekira), 40-1, 43
 Mission adherents, Nasioi, compared on: cash crops, 52; cash demands made by missions on, 53; European stereotypes, 50-1; 'loyalty' during World War II, 51; numbers, 50; relation of respective ideologies to traditional religion, 53; see also Catholic mission, Methodist mission, Seventh Day Adventist mission
 Mitchell, D. and J., 13, 35n
 Money: limited role in plantation economy, 72; Nasioi treatment of, 177-8; see also Taxes
 Moo Tang, Sam, 64, 65-6, 85; plantation, 64, 65; tradestore, 64, 65, 66
 Morality, Nasioi emphasis on new, 152
 Mortality, traditional infant and maternal, 23, 104; impact of malaria eradication campaign on, 83
 Mortuary feasts (bore), 17-18, 36; see also Funerary exchanges, Head feasts
 Mu-group, modern: affiliation, 95; associated natural phenomena, 95; copra-making, 122-3; decision-making, 98; joint action, 97-8; leaders, 98; Nasioi usage of term, 96-7; nature of, 97; role in land tenure, 98, 156, 179; see also Matriclan, modern
 Mu-group, traditional: composition, 13-14; land rights, 19-20, 22, 23, 26, 40, 155; role, 19, 43; see also Matriclan, traditional
 Murder, 13, 41, 87
- Nagovisi: language, 2-3; people, 13, 35n, 65, 70, 143, 170, 171; village, 8
 Nasioi language, 2-3; author's knowledge of, 8-9
 Nasioi village, 7, 50, 137
 New Britain missionaries, 48-9
 New Guinea Biological Foundation, 63
 New Guinea Mining Ordinance 1922, 67
 Non-Austronesians, 74; languages, 2; see also Aita, Buin, Nagovisi, Nasioi, Siwai

Non-monetary exchange, modern, 132-41
 North Nasioi census division, 7, 11, 48, 62; co-operative in, 81

Oliver, 139, 140, 143, 157-8

Oliver, D.G., study of Siwai, 6

Opossum, 6, 28, 34, 37, 38

Ovarim (pseud.): interests in New Guinea Biological Foundation, 63; plantation, 62, 68, 70, 81; trade-store, 63

Pacific Islands Regiment, 108, 110; as educational force, 85

Pacification, 73-4, 75

Papuans, as skilled sawmill workers, 66, 67, 137

Paternalism, plantation, 62, 69-70, 72

Patrol officer, see "Kiap"

Peanuts, 79

Personality, and religion, 54-5

Physical anthropology, 6

Physical environment, characteristics of, 3

Physiological factors affecting economic performance, 54

Pidgin English, 8; author's fluency in, 9; Nasioi knowledge of, 9

Pig Island, 74

Pig-raising: impact of cash crops on, 118-19; traditional, 26-8, 29

Pigs: modern sale of, 147; traditional feasts, 17, 18, 119

Plantation labour, 141-2; discipline, 59, 71; post-war, 60, 62, 63, 65; pre-war, 59, 60; wages, 49-50, 59-60, 63, 70, 72; see also

Paternalism, plantation

Plantation stores, 63-4

Plantations, 58-63; effect on Nasioi economic life, 68-72

Planters: effect on race relations, 89; present management attitudes, 70-2; pre-war management attitudes, 70; self-image, 70-1, 88n; see also Paternalism, plantation

Pokpok Island, 51, 75

Police: lack of Nasioi, 86; stationed in Guava area, 67

Polygyny, traditional, 16; Catholic opposition to, 47

Population pressure: absent traditionally, 13, 23; impact of World War II, 76n; post-war implications of, 83, 84, 154, 180-1, 182-3

Pottery, traditional, 38, 39

Prestige, achievement of: modern, 109, 113, 116, 136, 141, 143;

traditional, 16, 27n, 33, 42-3, 109, 116, 143

Price discrimination, in Chinese tradestores, 65

Primary forest, traditional rights to, 23

Primary school, Kieta, 84

Profit, Nasioi understanding of, 160, 163, 167, 168

Property destruction, traditional: at cremation, 29, 36, 43, 155; on occasion of misfortune (teekira), 40-1, 43, 119, 140-1

Public health, government efforts to improve, 83; impact of, 86

Punitive expeditions, German, 73, 74

Purchases for cash, Nasioi, 148-50

Race relations, Kieta, 89, 182; effect on Nasioi, 71-2, 88, 89; see also Europeans

Rapport, 9

Rausch, P., 47

Reciprocity, traditional ideal of balanced, 14, 15, 17, 36, 37-8, 39, 40, 41, 43; consequences of unbalanced, 15-16, 17, 41-2, 43

Religion, traditional, 29-31, 46n; integration with Catholicism, 46-7

Religious practices, missions compared, 53

Remarriage: as factor in fosterage, 103; modern, 19n, 111-12; traditional, 37, 40

Residence, problem for newly-weds, 111; see also Uxorilocality, traditional ideal

Returned servicemen, post-war loans for Australian, 61, 62, 71

Rice, 80

Rigu school, vegetable purchases by, 146, 147

Roadwork, 74, 142; wages, 142

Rorovanas, 59, 65, 81

Roreinang mission station, 49, 62

Rubber, 58, 60

Rumba tradestore, 160, 164, 165, 166-70, 178

Rumba village, 3n, 6n, 7, 8, 10, 13n, 18, 20, 62, 66, 76, 93, 94, 95, 118, 119, 120, 125, 140, 163, 166

Rumba villagers, 8, 13, 18n, 30, 61, 65, 66, 67, 75, 77, 137, 138, 139, 140, 142, 145; attitude to author, 9

Sago, uses of, 131; traditional, 25, 38, 38n

- Sale of goods for cash, modern Nasioi, 145-6
- Savings: Kavivi's owner's attempts to encourage Nasioi, 62-3; Nasioi dis-interest in, 153-4
- Sawmill, 66-7; labour, 142; wages, 142
- Scarification, traditional, 34-5;
Catholic mission opposition to, 47
- School-teacher, as prestige role, 114
- Sebastian, 78, 81, 108-9, 166; attitude to supernatural assistance, 165-6, 172; background, 108-9, 164, 180; copra operations, 120n, 122, 145, 146, 164-5, 170-1; financial set-up of "bisnis" activities, 165; relation to Lambert, 164; trade-stores, 164, 165, 167-70, 176; vehicle, 165, 168, 170, 171-2; view of group effort, 179
- Sepik River area, contract labour from, 60
- Settlement: modern, 75, 91-5; traditional, 13
- Seventh Day Adventist mission: attitude to cash economy, 53, 54; emphasis on individual responsibility, 53; establishment on Bougainville, 48; tabus, 51, 140
- Seventh Day Adventist mission adherents, Nasioi, 50; as council supporters, 77; as workers, 63; Catholic Nasioi attitude to, 51, 62; European stereotype of, 50, 51; personality, 54-5; role in World War II, 51; sale of vegetables, 145, 145n; savings, 153n
- Sexual relations, modern premarital, 107
- Shell valuables (makutu), traditional: inheritance, 40; origin, 40; uses, 32, 39-40; taxes seen as form of, 86
- Shoplifting, Nasioi, 65
- Shortland Islands, 13, 40
- Sib, see Matriclan
- "Singsing", 8, 102, 105, 106, 138
- Sirambana: village, 8, 13n, 94, 109-10, 137; villagers, 8, 62, 81, 138, 139
- Siromba: "kukerai", 22n, 144, 149; village, 8, 19-20, 61, 94, 137, 138-9, 165; villagers, 8, 22n, 67, 141, 165
- Siwai: language, 3; people, 6, 12, 35n, 48, 54n, 69, 158
- Sleeping arrangements, modern household, 93
- Social change, as process of increasing differentiation, 1-2
- Social control: present vacuum in, 87, 90, 152, 181-2; traditional, see 'Big man', Sorcery
- Sohano, as District headquarters, 77
- Sorcery, traditional, 36; as reason for resettlement, 13; emphasised in folk tales, 13; in exchange for makutu, 40; sorcerers, 32
- South Nasioi census division, 7; cash crop production, 52, 119, 124-5, 126n; education, 49; physical characteristics, 3; population, 83-4
- Specialisation, in traditional production, 38, 39
- Spirits, traditional (ma'naang), 30, 31, 46-7, 78-9
- St Joseph's High School, 49, 105
- Staff shortages, 75, 79-80
- Stevedoring, 61, 81; see also Kieta overseas wharf
- Stone adzes, 12n
- Sub-clan (sub-mu): as group, 97; Nasioi knowledge of affiliation, 97
- Sub-sib, see Sub-clan
- Supernatural assistance, traditional Nasioi dependence on: for productive activities, 27, 28, 29-31; persistence today, 56; relation to "bisnis", 162, 163, 165-6, 172-3, 176; see also Cargoism, Religion, traditional, Sorcery, traditional
- Sweet potato: introduction to Nasioi, 25; post-war shift to, 76, 115
- Sylvester, 127, 142
- Tabus: associated with particular mu, 95; effect on economic activity of mission, 55-6; Protestant, 53; Seventh Day Adventist, 51, 53, 54; traditional, 14, 34
- Ta'ma: distribution, 136; production, 134; social significance, 136
- Taro: blight during World War II, 76, 115; traditional gardens, 24, 25; traditional trade, 38
- Tausina, 74, 80
- Taxes: Nasioi view of, 86; possible impact of, 85
- Timothy, 143-4, 146, 147, 175
- Titus, 125, 134, 170n, 179
- Tobacco: effects on productivity of, 55-6; exchanged for areca nut, 141; mission attitudes to, 54; Nasioi purchases of, 148-9; 'native', 38
- Torau, 39, 59
- Torokina, Allied base at, 76

- Trade copra, 61, 65; see also
 Sebastian, copra operations
 Tradestores, Chinese and plantation,
 61, 63-6
 Tradestores, Nasioi: Adolphus' store,
 162; Lambert's store, 163; see also
 Sebastian, tradestores
 'Traditional' behaviour: as stage in
 increasing social differentiation,
 43; defined, 12-13
 Traditional belief, compared with
 Christian theologies, 53; see also
 Supernatural assistance, traditional
 Nasioi dependence on
 Tubiana mission, 49, 50, 51n, 54n, 65,
 145; food gardens and plantation,
 49; schools, 49, 105, 107, 146
 "Tultul", 22n, 68, 74, 77n, 80
 United Nations Visiting Mission 1962,
 9-10, 51
 United States, Nasioi request for
 take-over by, 9-10; impact on
 author's work of, 10
 Unity for Bougainville, moves to
 achieve, 183-4
 University of Papua and New Guinea, 183
 Uxorilocality, traditional ideal, 16,
 33, 101, 104, 110; means of avoid-
 ing, 16, 19
 Vegetable sales, 145-7
 Vehicle, Sebastian's, 165, 168, 170,
 171-2
 Verbal abuse of Nasioi, 65, 66
 Village officials, see "Kukerai",
 "Tultul"
 Villages, modern, 93, 94
 Vincent, 125, 179
 Vocational school, Kieta, 84; Nasioi
 attitude to, 85
 Wage labour: adolescents' attitude to,
 105; and cash crops, 142; modern,
 141-4; see also Plantation labour,
 Roadwork, Sawmill
 Wages: Bougainville Copper, 67-8;
 disputes over, 143-4; government
 plantation, 81; plantation, 49-50,
 59-60, 70, 72, 142; roadwork, 142;
 sawmill, 66, 142; Sebastian's
 "bisnis", 167, 170; servant's,
 142-3
 Weber, M., study of religion's effect
 on economic institutions, 52-3, 56
 Wet cocoa beans, plantation purchase
 of, 61, 62
 Wo Fat, 64; as copra agent, 170;
 provision of stock to Rumba store,
 164, 165, 167, 168, 169; trade-
 store, 64, 65
 Women: consumption of alcohol, 150n;
 fishing activities, 130; modern
 gardening role, 116-18; modern role
 in decision-making, 98; participa-
 tion in 'growing-up feasts', 34,
 102, 136; pottery-makers, 39; pro-
 ductive activities summarised, 132;
 traditional authority over gardens,
 24; see also Division of labour,
 sexual
 Work opportunities, see Bougainville
 Copper, Co-operatives, Plantations,
 Sawmill, Stevedoring, Tradestores
 Work organisation: for cash crops,
 101, 116; for subsistence garden-
 ing, 101, 115; present-day
 summarised, 132; see also Division
 of labour, sexual
 World Health Organisation, 83
 World War I, 59
 World War II, 6, 10, 23; exodus of
 Europeans during, 49, 60, 75; im-
 pact on Nasioi, 51, 75-6; see also
 Japanese occupation
 Xavier, 109-10, 127
 Yam gardens, traditional, 24, 25

Abstract

New Guinea Research Bulletin

No.44, January 1972

Modern socio-economic change among the Nasioi people of Bougainville in Papua New Guinea has been brought by 'the triangle' of missionaries, planters and government officials. Their presence for over sixty years has resulted in a process of differentiation without integration, and a Nasioi confusion of business and cargoism in their attempts to attain a higher standard of living.

New Guinea Research Bulletins

Bulletin No. 1	The Erap Mechanical Farming Project by R.G. Crocombe and G.R. Hogbin, April 1963	\$1.50
Bulletin No. 2	Land, Work and Productivity at Inonda by R.G. Crocombe and G.R. Hogbin, August 1963	\$1.50
Bulletin No. 3	Social Accounts of the Monetary Sector of the Territory of Papua and New Guinea, 1956/57 to 1960/61 by R.C. White, January 1964	\$1.50
Bulletin No. 4	Communal Cash Cropping among the Orokaiva by R.G. Crocombe, May 1964	\$1.50
Bulletin No. 5	A Survey of Indigenous Rubber Producers in the Kerema Bay Area by G.R. Hogbin, October 1964	\$1.50
Bulletin No. 6	The European Land Settlement Scheme at Popondetta by D.R. Howlett, April 1965	\$1.50
Bulletin No. 7	The M'buke Co-operative Plantation by R.G. Crocombe, August 1965	\$1.50
Bulletin No. 8	Cattle, Coffee and Land among the Wain by Graham Jackson, December 1965	\$1.50
Bulletin No. 9	An Integrated Approach to Nutrition and Society: the Case of the Chimbu, ed. E. Hipsley, January 1966	\$1.50
Bulletin No.10	The Silanga Resettlement Project by Olga van Rijswick, February 1966	\$1.50
Bulletin No.11	Land Tenure and Land Use among the Mount Lamington Orokaiva by Max Rimoldi, April 1966	\$1.50
Bulletin No.12	Education through the Eyes of an Indigenous Urban Elite by Karol van der Veur and Penelope Richardson, August 1966	\$1.50
Bulletin No.13	Orokaiva Papers: Miscellaneous Papers on the Orokaiva of North East Papua, November 1966	\$1.50
Bulletin No.14	Rabia Camp: a Port Moresby Migrant Settlement by Nancy E. Hitchcock and N.D. Oram, January 1967	\$1.50
Bulletin No.15	Bulolo: a History of the Development of the Bulolo Region, New Guinea by Allan Healy, February 1967	\$1.50
Bulletin No.16	Papuan Entrepreneurs: Papers by R.G. Crocombe, W.J. Oostermeyer and Joanne Gray, J.V. Langmore, April 1967	\$1.50
Bulletin No.17	Land Tenure Conversion in the Northern District of Papua by David Morawetz, May 1967	\$1.50
Bulletin No.18	Social and Economic Relationships in a Port Moresby Canoe Settlement by N.D. Oram, July 1967	\$1.50
Bulletin No.19	A Benefit Cost Analysis of Resettlement in the Gazelle Peninsula by S. Singh, September 1967	\$1.50

Bulletin No.20	New Guinea People in Business and Industry: Papers from the First Waigani Seminar, December 1967	\$1.50
Bulletin No.21	Teachers in the Urban Community by Penelope Richardson and Karol van der Veur, January 1968	\$1.50
Bulletin No.22	Papers on the Papua-New Guinea House of Assembly by Norman Meller, January 1968	\$1.50
Bulletin No.23	Mixed-race Society in Port Moresby by B.G. Burton-Bradley, March 1968	\$1.50
Bulletin No.24	The Organisation of Production and Distribution among the Orokaiva by E.W. Waddell and P.A. Krinks, September 1968	\$2.00
Bulletin No.25	A Survey of Village Industries in Papua-New Guinea by R. Kent Wilson, November 1968	\$1.50
Bulletin No.26	The Contribution of Voluntary Aid Organisations to the Development of Papua-New Guinea, 1966-67 by Micheline Dewdney, January 1969	\$1.50
Bulletin No.27	New Guinean Entrepreneurs by B.R. Finney, February 1969	\$1.50
Bulletin No.28	Namasu: New Guinea's Largest Indigenous-owned Company by I.J. Fairbairn, March 1969	\$1.50
Bulletin No.29	Hohola: the Significance of Social Networks in Urban Adaptation of Women by Lynn Oeser, June 1969	\$1.50
Bulletin No.30	Inter-tribal Relations of the Maenge People of New Britain by Michel Panoff, July 1969	\$1.50
Bulletin No.31	Inter-ethnic Marriage in New Guinea by Andrew W. Lind, August 1969	\$1.50
Bulletin No.32	New Guinea Social Science Field Research and Publications, 1962-67 by Susan C. Reeves and May Dudley, October 1969	\$1.50
Bulletin No.33	The Rigo Road: a Study of the Economic Effects of New Road Construction by Marion W. Ward, January 1970	\$1.50
Bulletin No.34	People and Planning in Papua and New Guinea: Papers by D.J. van de Kaa, J.M. Stanhope, T.S. Epstein, N.H. Fry, and C.L. Beltz, April 1970	\$1.50
Bulletin No.35	The Indigenous Role in Business Enterprise: Three Papers from the Third Waigani Seminar 1969 by A.J. O'Connor, T.S. Epstein and G. Nash, May 1970	\$1.50
Bulletin No.36	Australia and the United Nations: New Guinea Trusteeship Issues from 1946 to 1966 by W.E. Tomasetti, July 1970	\$1.50
Bulletin No.37	Port Moresby Urban Development by J.V. Langmore and N.D. Oram, September 1970	\$1.50
Bulletin No.38	Land Tenure in West Irian: Papers by K.W. Galis, J.V. de Bruyn, J. Pouwer, J.W. Schoorl and J. Verschueren, December 1970	\$1.50
Bulletin No.39	The Situm and Gobari Ex-servicemen's Settlements by A. Ploeg, January 1971	\$1.50
Bulletin No.40	Land Tenure and Economic Development: Problems and Policies in Papua-New Guinea and Kenya: Papers by S. Rowton Simpson, R.L. Hide, A.M. Healy and J.K. Kinyanjui, March 1971	\$1.50

Bulletin No.41	Would-be Entrepreneurs? A Study of Motivation in New Guinea by Ruth S. Finney, May 1971	\$1.50
Bulletin No.42	Population Growth and Socio-economic Change: Papers from the Second Demography Seminar, Port Moresby 1970, September 1971	\$1.50
Bulletin No.43	Langandrowa and M'buke, Corporate Indigenous Plantations by A.M. McGregor, December 1971	\$1.50
Bulletin No.44	Business and Cargo: Socio-economic Change among the Nasioi of Bougainville by E. Ogan, January 1972	\$1.50

The above bulletins are available at the prices listed from the A.N.U. Press, The Australian National University, P.O. Box 4, Canberra, A.C.T., 2600, Australia, and the New Guinea Research Unit, The Australian National University, P.O. Box 1238, Boroko, Papua New Guinea.

For bulletins published from 1970 on, an annual payment of \$7.00 entitles the subscriber to all bulletins issued in the year.

